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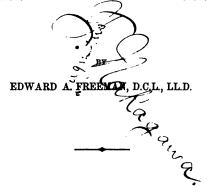
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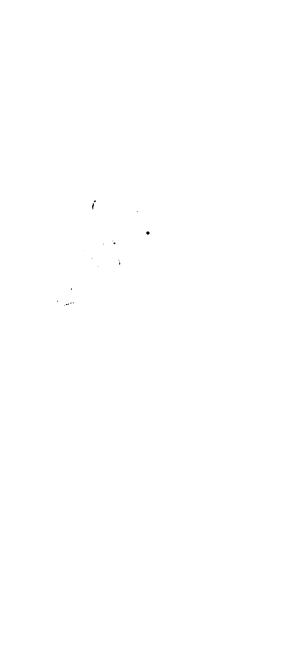
OF THE

ENGLISH_NATION



NEW YORK
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1879



J. Mattagan

THE

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

I.

IF we could, by an effort of will, carry ourselves back eight hundred years into the past, we should not see our land of England inhabited, as it is now, by men who, whatever may be their differences in other respects, at least speak one common tongue, and look on one another as children of one common country. The England of eight hundred years back was a land in which the struggle of race against race, of langnage against language-such a struggle as we have seen in our own day going on in some other lands-was raging with all the bitterness of a recent conquest. would ask, were the races-the conquerors and the conquered - between whom the land was then disputed? By what names were they known to themselves and to one another? Ask the novelist, ask the popu-

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lar compiler of history, and he will answer with all the glibness that may be, "Oh, of course they were the Normans and the Sax-And they would make that answer with equal glibness whether the question were put to them here by the banks of the Humber or in my own home by the banks of the Axe. But if we could ask the men themselves, they would give us another an-Ask that man, once lord of many swer. lordships, sprung, it may be, from ancient earls, or even from ancient kings, to whom the clemency of the stranger King has granted some corner of his broad lands to be held as alms at the royal hand, or as a vassal of the stranger who dwells in the halls of his Ask him of what nation he is, of what nation is the stranger who has supplanted him. He will tell you nothing about Normans and Saxons; he will answer: "I am an Englishman, and it is a Frenchman to whom the lands of my fathers have passed away." Ask him for his title-deeds, for the writ of the foreign king to which he owes that, though he has sunk many degrees in rank and wealth, he is at least not driven to beg his bread, perhaps not even to guide the plough with his own hands. He will show you a small scrap of

archment written over in characters which ok uncouth to our eyes, and which, if read, ill sound like some half-strange, half-intelgible, dialect of our own tongue. lose words to an ordinary scholar; ask im what tongue it is, and he will say, "Of ourse that is Saxon." Ask the man himolf in what tongue it is written, and he will t once say that is "on Englisc." Bid him ad the writ out, if his scholarship goes) far, and you will find in it no mention f Normans and Saxons, but how "Wilam King greets all his bishops and all his hegns, and all his men, French and English, iendly." Go back yet another two hundred ears; go to the lands south of Thames and yon; go to the island-shelter of Athelney nd to the field of victory at Ethandun; sk of the great King struggling against his nemies, ask of Ælfred himself, of what naon he is, and over what people he bears If he speak in the Latin tongue, he ill perhaps say that he is "Rex Saxoum;" for he comes of the blood of the old axon lands beyond the sea, and of the same axon blood come the more part of the men ho follow him. But if he speak in his own ongue, he will not use the Saxon name rithout a qualifying adjective. Not of the from the day when Englishmen began to have a common name, when that common name was anything but English. Our Celtic neighbors—the Welsh, the Irish, the Picts and Scots—have indeed always called us Saxous, and they call us so to this day. But we never called ourselves so. Into the whole minutiæ of this matter, into the cases where the word Saxon was used and where it was not used, I have gone at great detail in a work which some of you may have seen or heard of, and in which those who care to do so may follow up the subject for themselves. I will here only say that the win which an Englishman now speaks c

quite certain that there never was a time,

Welshman, the way in which a Welshman now speaks of an Englishman, and the way in which an Englishman speaks of himself, have none of them changed for at least a thousand years.

But I may be asked, What is there in a If we know the facts of our history rightly, what does it matter by what name we call the actors in them? I answer that you cannot know the facts of history rightly, unless you learn to call things and persons by their right names. Names express ideas, and he who uses wrong names is not likely to have right ideas. Indeed, a great part of the historian's work just now is to get rid of the false names which have hindered people from forming true ideas. is eminently the case in the matter which we have immediately at hand. If you call the people of a certain country up to a certain year "Saxons," and after that year call them "Englishmen," that can only be because you think that the people who lived before that year and the people who lived after it were not the same people.

When I put it into words in this way, you will most likely say that this is not what you mean. If the same parents had two children, one born in 1065 and another in

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1067, I do not think you would say that the elder was a Saxon, while the younger was something else. It is exactly the same if you choose any other year, and not 1066. But because you see the absurdity when I put it in this way, it does not at all follow that the use of an inaccurate expression is not misleading. If you call the same people by one name up to 1066, and by another name after 1066, you cannot get rid of the idea, acting perhaps almost unconsciously. that something happened in the year 1066 which altogether cut off the times and the people before that year from the times and the people after it. Now a very important event did happen in the year 1066, an event whose importance, if we only look at it in the right way, it is not easy to rate too highly. But that event did not have the sort of result which people sometimes seem to fancy. It did not so cut off the times and the people before it from the times and the people after it as to make it right to call those who lived before it by one name, and those who lived after it by another. There were Englishmen before that year as there were Englishmen after it, and they called themselves Englishmen before that year just as they call themselves English-

name to this day. part of that land keeps It is, therefore, most important never apply the names England or English to th land or people of Britain in the days befor

the land became England by the English sopple settling in it. If we do so, we get r forefathers who are not our forefathers, I we forget that people were our forefa-We take people for Painter killed himself, he was engaged sinting a picture of "Alfred and the first When Haydon sh Jury." Now as juries, like so many things, were not made but grew, it is certain that neither Elfred, nor anybefore or after him, can be truly said e summoned the first jury. But if had summoned the first jury, it were been an Englishing.

or another, but it is a plain historical fact that, before the coming of Augustine, there was a British Church, but there was not an English Church. So people talk of Cæsar coming into England. Now Cæsar never came into England: neither he nor any of the old Cæsars after him ever reached the land which in their day was England. sar landed in Britain, in that part of Britain which afterward became England, but which was not England when he lauded in it. More amusingly than all, I once read in a little book that Cæsar was withstood by "the English people, who were then called the Britons." The English people were then far away, and most likely never heard of Cæsar, nor he of them. A geologist would laugh if one talked of "the cave lions, who were then called the ichthyosauri;" and to speak of "the English people, who were then called the Britons," is really a confusion of very much the same kind.

I would then, first of all, impress upon your minds the need of always using words in their right meaning, and in no other. Do not allow yourselves to call Englishmen Saxons; do not allow yourselves to call Britons Englishmen. Grasp firmly the great truth, which to so many it seems so hard to

ORIGIN

grasp, that now, as we ware simply or Remember the Harold at St fought under the men who Waterloo, were that the men he landed on Englishmen.

be mistaken.

What, then, are we, the English people? and whence did we come? I answer that we are Low-Dutch with a difference, and that we came from those lands where the Low-Dutch blood and the Low-Dutch speech abide to this day. And here I must, perhaps, stop and explain myself. To some the use of the name Low-Dutch may sound strange, perhaps ludicrous; but it is the truest and most accurate name, and I use it specially in order to avoid using the word German, which may easily lead to misconceptions. Again I say, in all these matters

we must define each name before we use it, so that we may be quite sure that we know what we mean by it. And when we have defined it, we must take care to use it in the sense in which we have defined it, and in no other. Now the whole Tentonic race is one thing; the particular nation which we commonly understand by the word German is another thing. The one is the whole; the other is the part. But whenever an accurate writer or speaker speaks of the English as a branch of the Tentonic race, inaccurate readers and hearers start off at once to that other particular branch of the Tentonic race whom we generally call Germans. They begin to cry out, sometimes in elaborate books which have lawsuits manfully waged about them, "Oh, but we are so unlike the Germans. Our ways are quite different; our tastes are quite different; our heads, and therefore our hats, are of quite another shape." Now, about the heads and the hats I shall have something to say in my last lecture; I wish now to speak about the name German and some other names. whom we commonly mean by Germans are the High-Dutch, the people of Southern Germany, the people whose language we learn by the name of German—a language which

is spreading itself, as the polite and classical language, over Northern Germany too, and which is driving our own Low-Dutch speech into holes and corners. Now, if by Germans we mean High-Dutchmen, we certainly are not Germans, and we have no very close connection with the Germans. Our connection with them is no closer than the connection which there must be between any one Teutonic people and any other. But Low-Dutch we are, differing from the Low-Dutch of the Continent in the sort of way in which we could not fail to differ from them, considering that we have been parted asunder from them for thirteen or fourteen hundred years. and that during all that time we have been exposed to one set of influences, and they have been exposed to another.

But perhaps it may be needful that I should still go somewhat farther back, and explain more fully what I mean by the Teutonic race and languages, by High-Dutch and by Low-Dutch. It would take too long to go through the whole story of the connection which the languages of nearly all Europe, and of a great part of Asia, those which we call the Aryan languages, have with one another. It is enough for my present purpose to say that no scientific student of lau-

gnage now doubts that there was a time-a time, of course, ages before the beginning of recorded history - when the forefathers of all the chief European nations, as also the forefathers of the Persians, Hindoos, and some other natious of Asia, were all one people, speaking one language. Gradually one tribe after another branched off from the parent stock, and they thus formed nations and languages of their own. But it is easy to see that, in some cases, the forefathers of two or more existing nations must have kept together for some while after they had parted from the parent stock, and must have parted off from one another at a later time. Thus the likeness between the Greek and the Latin languages is enough to show that the forefathers of the Greeks and the forefathers of the Italians parted off together, and remained for some time one nation. Other families of the same kind branched off in the same way, and again parted off Thus one from one another at a later time. family, probably the oldest Aryan family in North-western Europe, is that of the Celts, who have branched off again into at least two divisions, the British or Welsh, and the Irish or Scotch. Other such families are the Sclaves, the Lithuanians, and others of whom

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I need not now speak more fully. Those with whom we have to do are the Teutons. or Dutch. Within the last two hundred years we have got into a strange way of using the word Dutch to mean only one particular class of Dutchmen, namely, our own Low-Dutch kinsmen in Holland and the other provinces which now make up the Kingdom of the Netherlands. But we formerly used the word in a much wider sense, and men use it so still in many parts of the United States. English travellers in America have sometimes been puzzled at hearing men whom they would have called Germans spoken of as Dutchmen. You will do well to bear this in mind; when you find the word Dutch in any English writer of the sixteenth century or of the first half of the seventeenth, it is pretty certain to mean, not Hollanders in particular, but Hollanders, Saxons, Suabians, Bavarians, and so forth, altogether. And I need hardly tell you that the Germans call themselves and their tongue Deutsch to this day; only, a little confusion now and then arises from their using the word Deutsch, sometimes to express the Teutonic race in general, and sometimes to express their own particular nation and language. Teuton and Dutch are, in truth, only

two forms of the same name. The word comes from beod, people or nation; each nation, of course, thinking itself the people or nation above all others. And the opposite to Dutch is Welsh—that is strange, from wealh. a stranger. In our forefathers' way of speaking, whatever they could understand was Dutch, the tongue of the people; whatever they could not understand they called Welsh. the tongue of the strangers. "All lands, Dutch and Welsh," is a common phrase to express the whole world. This is the reason why, when our forefathers came into Britain, they called the people whom they found in the land the Welsh. For the same reason, the Teutons on the Continent have always called the Latin-speaking nations with whom they have had to do-Italian. Provencal, and French—Welsh. People who know only the modern use of the words might be puzzled if they turned to some of the old Swiss Chronicles, and found the war between the Swiss and Duke Charles of Burgundy always spoken of as a war between the Dutch and the Welsh. Any one who knows German will be at once ready with instances of this use of the word, sometimes meaning strange, or foreign, in the general sense, sometimes meaning particularly French or Italian. The last case which I know of the word being used in English in the wide sense is in Sir Thomas Smith's book on the Government of England, written in the time of Queen Elizabeth, where he speaks of "snch as be walsh and foreign," not meaning Britons in particular, but any people

whose tongue cannot be understood. It may be worth noticing that this way of a nation speaking of itself as the nation, and of the rest of the world as strangers or such-like, has many parallels among other people. The Jews, for instance, called all other people the Gentiles, the nations, using a different word to express them from the word which expressed themselves, the chosen people. So the old Greeks called all other nations Barbarians, a word which has gradually got another and a worse meaning, but which at first simply meant that their language could not be understood. But when Saint Paul says, "I shall be to him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me," he uses the word in the older sense, and an Old-English translator might very well have rendered it, "I shall be unto him that speaketh a Welshman." So the ancient Egyptians spoke of all other nations by a word which answered to

the Greek barbarian, and the modern Chinese seem to do the same. So the Slavonic people, who lie to the east of the Teutons—the Wends, Poles, Bohemians, Russians, and others—used to call all nations which did not speak their tongue by a word meaning dumb.

We thus get the Teutons, or Dutch, as one great division of the Aryan family, the division to which we ourselves belong. here we must make a further division, and for my purpose it will be enough to make a very rough division, into Low - Dutch and High. If I were making a purely philological lecture, I might divide a little more minutely and scientifically, but the division which I make is enough to show the relations of the English people to other nations. Let me here point out a few things which those who do not understand German may learn for the first time, while those who do may not be sorry to be reminded of them. Any one who has learned German must have remarked that a vast number of the words which we are always using, the words which we cannot get on without in either language, are the same in both languages. But he must also have remarked that though the words are essentially the same, yet there is, for the most part, some difference in their

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spelling and pronunciation, that we systematically use certain letters where the Germans use certain others, so that we may know beforehand what the German form. of an English word—if there be one—must be, and what the English form of a German This may word—if there be one—must be. be carried out much further between English and Greek, or between any two Aryan languages that may be chosen. In all of them there are fixed rules according to which certain letters in one language answer to But I am now certain letters in another. concerned with these rules only so far as they apply to English and German. Let us take a few examples. Thus, D in English answers to T in German. Thus, div is taufen, duck is tauchen, deer (a beast) is Thier, dear (an adjective) is theuer, bed is Bett, God is Gott, good is gut, and so on. So T in the middle of a word in English is in German either S or Z, while at the beginning or end it is Z. Thus, better is besser, kettle is Kessel, heart is Herz, smart is Schmerz, ten is zehn, tooth is Zahn. You will find very few exceptions to this rule at the end of words, and, I think, none at the beginning, except in words beginning with tr; thus true is treu, because it would be almost impossible

to say zreu. So, again, English TH (our old letter p or D) is in German D. Thus, think is denken, thing is Ding, brother is Bruder; and if you ask why father and mother are Vater and Mutter, and not Vader and Mudder, I will tell you. Father and mother are comparatively modern forms in English. Down to the sixteenth century the words were always written fader and moder; and those, you will see, answer quite regularly to Vater and Mutter.

This, then, is the kind of difference which every one who learns German with any care must remark between the German language Putting aside words of later and his own. introduction or later formation, the most essential words in both languages, the words which have been in both languages from the beginning, are really the same, only with certain letters answering, according to a fixed rule, to certain other letters. But English and German, the classical literary German which we learn, do not between them make up the whole of the Teutonic lan-First of all, there is the oldest monument of Teutonic speech in the world. the translation of parts of the Bible into the old Gothic tongue, made by Ulfilas in the fourth century. Now this is one of the most



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wonderful books to read that I ever saw. Cast your eye carelessly over it, and it seems like an utterly strange language, in which vou would have no chance of understanding a word besides the familiar proper names. Look a little more carefully, and you will gradually see that most of the words are the words which we use every day; only they have, so to speak, long tails to them. is to say, the old Gothic was a highly inflected language, marking the cases, moods, and so forth, by a system of endings at least as elaborate as that used in Greek. In modern German many of these inflections have been lost, and in modern English we have kept very few indeed. In the old Gothic they are there in all their fulness. But most of the roots are words which everybody knows in English, only they are disguised at first sight by their inflections. Gothic. in short, is like a tree with all its branches spreading out and in full leaf, while English is like the same tree pollarded, with nothing but the trunk left. I need not say that this old Gothic tongue has not been spoken for ages; but it forms part of my story, not only as being the oldest existing specimen of any Tentonic language, but because it is a language in which we have a special in-

terest. Secondly, we have all the Scandinavian languages, ancient and modern; the speech of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and, above all, Iceland; the speech of a highly important body of the settlers in our own island; the speech of the old Sagas in which their doings are recorded; the speech, I may say, at one time, of the part of England in which I find myself at this moment; the speech of those among the continental nations of Europe to whom Englishmen should always feel themselves bound by ties only less close than the closest. Lastly, and to us more important than all, come the folk of the old Low-Dutch speech, our brethren of Northern Germany. You in this town at least know something of them; ships sail to and fro between their havens and your own, and I can well believe that there may even be some kinsmen from the old brotherland among my hearers this evening. Every one who knows that part of the world knows that the German which we learn in our books and grammars, the polite, classical, literary German, is not the true native speech of the men who live at the mouths of the Trave, the Elbe, and the Weser. It is the book-speech, the fashionable speech, but it is not the speech of the people. Even superficial observers, if they have any chance of coming across the true speech of the people, at once remark how close its likeness to English is. But the geographical range of this speech is far wider than what we should understand by Northern Germany. It takes in Northern Germany and something more. In one shape or another -- for, of course, it has its local dialects like other tongues-it stretches from Flanders-we might once have said from lands even south of Flanders -to the Elbe and the Eyder. One wave of conquest pushing eastward has carried it over the Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Finnish lands which fringe the whole southern coast of the Baltic. And another wave of conquest pushing westward has carried it to the lands beyond the German Ocean, and has made it the true speech of this our Isle of Britain, from the shores of Thanet to the Usk, from Chichester harbor to the Firth of Forth.

Now, for my purpose, all these varieties of the Teutonic speech—the Old Gothic, the Scandinavian, and the Low-Dutch—all hang together as opposed to the German of our books. I drew out, a little time back, some of the essential differences between English and that kind of German; how certain let-

ters in one systematically answer to certain letters in another. Now, in most of the cases where English differs from German in these matters, the Gothic, the Scandinavian, and the Low-Dutch all agree with the English, and differ from the German. The only important exception is rather apparent than real. Most of the existing forms of Scandinavian and Low-Dutch have lost the sound of th, which we have kept, and in modern Low-Dutch d has taken its place, just as in the German that we learn. But there can be no doubt that this is simply a case of losing a sound. The th was certainly sounded in Gothic, and we can trace it a good way down in Low-Dutch. In Iceland, where the old Scandinavian language has scarcely changed at all, it is still sounded, and I believe that it is still sounded in the local speech of some parts of Denmark. So this is a merely accidental difference. In the essential differences, all the Gothic, Scandinavian, and Low-Dutch dialects stand together with English as against German. were lecturing on philology to a scientific society, it would not be hard to draw out important points of difference between Gothic, Scandinavian, and Low-Dutch. But for my purpose they may all be lumped togeth-

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er. They all use their letters as we use them. The two most necessary of human actions are expressed in our German books by the roots—I do not here trouble myself with the inflections—ess and trink. We call them, and all the other Teutonic languages

call them, eat and drink. We may thus - somewhat roughly, it is true, but accurately enough for our purpose -divide the Teutonic languages into two classes, the High-Dutch and the Low. former is the tongue of Southern or Upper Germany, the high lands away from the sea and near the sources of the rivers. The latter is the tongue of Northern, Lower, or Nether Germany, the lands near the sea and at the mouths of the rivers-the speech of what we specially call the Netherlands or Low Countries, and of the great plain stretching away eastward till we get out of the reach of Teutonic and Aryan languages al-Of the High-Dutch, the speech together. of Southern Germany, our book German, our classical polite German, is the type; but High-Dutch, like other tongues, has its local dialects, and I cannot help cherishing a doubt whether the literary German, exactly as we have it, is really the native speech of any part of the country. Still, the native

erything to do. Our relation to the other relation to the High-Dutch is that of distant claushing to the Low-Dutch we have even relation to the High-Dutch is that of the Low-Dutch is one of actual brother. They are our bone and our fleation their blood. They are our bone and our fleat; the companion of their speech which have, in the nature of things, is a separation of fourteen hundred.

lees which have, in the nature of things, is a separation of fourteen hundred which the two severed branches of the race of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of the tonic which I dight of the three forms of the tonic which I dight of the three forms of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of Tentonic which I dight of the three forms of three forms of the three forms of the three forms of the three forms of three

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great-aunt. We are not a colony of Goths, nor is there any other people who tan call themselves so. The Goths settled within the limits of the Roman Empire, and founded kingdoms within it. But they were gradually lost among their Roman subjects, and gradually came to exchange their own tongue for such Latin as was spoken at the time. Gothic blood must form a certain element—probably not a very large element—in the population of Italy, of Aquitaine, and of Spain. But the Gothic language and the Goths, as a nation, have long vanished from the face of the earth.

It is not so with the nations and tongues which formed my second head, those of our still living kinsmen—in this place I might almost say our neighbors—of Scandinavia. They still dwell in their old land, they still use their old speech; and if their general European influence is less than it was two or three hundred years back, they hold a really higher position as among the foremost of those nations who can reconcile order and freedom, and can work reforms without plunging into revolutions. That their history had, a thousand years back, a most important bearing on our own I need tell no one in a part of England which was once

reckoned as a Danish land. But they are not immediately concerned with the very beginnings of our nation. Their influence was later and secondary, and, after all, it extended only to a part of the English nation. The Danish element in England was an infusion, a kindred infusion, at a time when the English nation, if not yet fully formed, was already a long way gone in the work of forming. Still it is an infusion, and not an original element; it is something poured into a mass which was there already. we cannot talk of a Low-Dutch infusion, or even of a Low-Dutch element, in the English nation, because the Low-Dutch part of us is not an element or an infusion, but the thing itself. Our nation is like some ancient building, a church or a castle, built in some given century, all whose essential portions, the main walls, the main pillars, the main arches, abide to this day as they were built. But here and there a later architect has put in a window in a later style; here and there he has added a parapet or a pinnacle; he may even have carried up a tower higher than was at first designed, or he may have added a chapel or two, a turret or two, which the first builders never thought of. a case we do not look on these later changes

the original work. They may be improvements or they may not, according to the skill and taste with which they are made: but they are, at most, additions and alterations, which do not touch what we may call the personal identity of the original build-So it is with our English nation, with our laws, our language, our national being. It is a Teutonic fabric, and in all that forms the personal identity of the fabric it remains a Teutonic fabric to this day. But builders in other styles, in the French or Latin style above all, have wrought many important changes in detail; many of the ornaments and smaller portions of the building have changed their form, or are wholly new additions of the later architect. Still, the old walls, the old pillars, the old arches, are there throughout, though even the walls and pillars may have here and there been newcased and tricked out in some later form of That is, we are essentially Teutonic, art. and, among the various Teutonic branches, we are pre-eminently Low-Dutch. Whatever comes from any other source is mere addition and modification in a pre-existing fabric. At the very utmost it is a foreign shoot, grafted in artificially upon the origi-

nal and still abiding stock. To earry our metaphor of a building, we may lik the Danish influence in England to an addition to the building, or even to a rebuilding of one of its parts, made not long after the first building, and in a style so closely resembling that of the original work that in needs minute and technical examination to

distinguish between the two.

The Scandinavian influence, then, as later in date and partial in its extent, I shall put by for a moment, and shall speak rather of what is the real essence and kernel of the English nation—the Low-Dutch part of us. Let us cast our eyes over that part of Europe where the blood and the popular speech is still that of our ancient kinsfolk. must start within the boundaries of what is now France, in those parts of the old Flanders which French conquests have unluckily torn away from their natural brethren. Flemish is still the speech of the folk of the land in districts within the present French boundary; and there can be no doubt that. within historical times, it went much farther to the south, over a large part of what is now Picardy. Here, mark you, it is hemmed in by French, and I have no doubt that French is still gaining ground upon it. We come the polite and classical langua language of books, the language of g ment, the language of the coin. But F still abides as the true speech of the r and I believe that of late Flemish is lo up a little in public estimation. on into the Kingdom of the Nether and there we find, what we shall fir where else on the Continent, a diale the Low-Dutch—that which we com speak of distinctively as Dutch - ack edged as a public and literary speech. at least, as the language of an indepe nation and government, the good old & holds its own; and the most supe tourist would allow that a man at An

dam has a right to speak the tongue fathers, while if a man at Hamburg da do the same, he is at once reproached speaking "bad German." But near a from Holland up to Holstein and Sleswick -are the nearest kinsfolk of all. tongue is still nearer to ours than the other forms of the Low-Dutch. In short, it might not be too much to say that they are Englishmen who stayed at home, and did not cross into Britain. I have not myself been in the actual Frisian country, but I have heard that, in those parts of it which lie within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Frisians still form a people who are in some respects distinct from the Hollanders, and who are remarked as coming still nearer to the English in their speech and ways. I believe that in the late wars in Sleswick and Holstein the Frisian population kept aloof from both sides, as not deeming that they were concerned in the success either of the Danes or of the Germans. Frisians, our nearest kinsmen, were always a free and bold people, and they kept on longer than any other people in Northern Germany the old free Teutonic constitution. with its popular assemblies, such as now go on only in some of the oldest and smallest of the Swiss cantons. Then, behind the Frisians, we have the great nation of the Saxous, stretching much farther inland. When I speak of Saxous and Saxouy, do not for a moment think of the modern King dom, or even the older Electorate, of Saxon v. I believe that the modern kingdom has not a rood of ground in common with the older Saxony that I am speaking of. The Old Saxony is all that part of North-western Germany, including Westphalia, the late Kingdom of Hanover, and other states, reaching as far as the Elbe, and taking in the Duchy of Holstein beyond it, up to the Eyder. All this country is naturally Low-Dutch. You are always told that the "best German," that is, the highest of High-Dutch, is to be learned at Hanover. But why? Simply, I imagine, because it is a foreign tongue brought in comparatively lately, and which is therefore, no doubt, spoken with greater care than it is where it is really the At Hamburg, too, Highnational tongue. Dutch is the fashionable language; but I know that, a generation back, people of the highest position and education spoke Low-Dutch in their own houses, though of course they could also speak High-Dutch when it We have many old laws and was wanted. chronicles remaining which were written in this part of Germany, and they are all in Low - Dutch. There are especially the old laws of the Saxons, called the Sachschspiegel,

which are naturally in Low-Dutch, while the old laws of the Swabiaus, the Schwaben-

spiegel, are as naturally in High. In fact, it is not easy to say for certain how far south the Low-Dutch tongue once went. It certainly went much farther south than any one would think now. It is worth notice that whenever we find a German tribe mentioned by Roman writers, the names take the Low form, and not the High. Thus we find Chatti and Suevi for Hessen and Schwaben; and if you will think a moment, you will see that the Latin forms are really Low-Dutch. So of all the many towns whose names begin with Z-Zürich, Zug, and so forth—the Latin forms always begin with T-Tugium, Turicum, and the like. So Schultheiss, the name of a magistrate in many German towns, is in Latin Scultctus. Now this at any rate proves that the Low-Dutch tongue was once spoken not only much farther south than it is now, but much farther south than we can prove it to have been spoken by any writings written in it. am not sure that it does not prove still more. I may be wrong, and I do not much like guessing about a matter which, after all, is a matter rather of philological speculation than of recorded history; but these

things certainly suggest to me that our formathe Low-form, of the common Teutonic speech is the elder of the two; that the High-Dutch must have parted off from it in comparatively late time.

We may here remark how everywhere on the Continent, except in Holland, the Low-Dutch is a struggling tongue. In one region, as we have seen, it has to struggle against French; but it has a harder struggle to wage against the High-Dutch in all the remaining extent of its territory. It has in this case to struggle against a far subtler influence. French is palpably a foreign language; there is no doubt about it. French gains ground upon any Teutonic dialect, it gains ground by simply displac-Men give up speaking their own tongue, and take to speaking instead a tongue which is confessedly foreign. this way English has displaced Welsh and lrish in those parts of the British Islands where English is spoken by men of Welsh or Irish blood. Such a process as this may well awaken a conscious patriotic resistance against it. But the process through which Low-Dutch is vanishing before High-Dutch is of a different and a much subtler kind. High-Dutch represents itself to the speakers

of Low-Dutch, not as a foreign sy as the best, the most polite, the mo and classical and cultivated forn own speech. One, in short, is " man;" the other is "bad." exactly the same as that by which cient Provencal tongue of Souther a tongue which was the speech of courts and of a refined literature when hardly anybody at Paris c and write - has been hunted do pretence of its being "bad French. guage at this stage is doomed; it vive only as a matter of languid When I was in Southern Gaul, I he what of a Provencal poet or two wh were thought a good deal of, much South of England something is th Mr. Barnes's verses in the Dorset lect, or as you probably have here unknown to me who writes in I Northumbrian. When I was in Germany, the tales and poems Renter, written in the dialect of L spoken in Mecklenburg, were all but such a fashion as this is as li to stop the inroads of the High-Mrs. Partington's mon was to sto roads of the ocean. The oddest c

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doubtedly to be found in the Duchy of Sleswick. That duchy is a border-land of Low-Dutch and Danish, and the two may fairly fight for the supremacy. But, while they are fighting, a third champion, the High-Dutch, steps in, and, under cover of the ambiguous word "German," displaces that one of the two contending elements which it professes to step in to defend. People whose native tongue really comes nearer to Danish than it does to High-Dutch. are bidden to take up High-Dutch as the ensign of "German" against Danish nationality. The very name of the country has been changed. It used to be "Sleswick," a Low-Dutch form. I doubt whether you would find it written in any other way in any English book or map forty years old. But of later times we have been all taught to change the natural name of the country into the High-Dutch "Schleswig," just as, to keep the balance straight, we are taught in other parts of Europe to call real High-Dutch places by French names. To be sure. if we are committed to the Danish side, we may talk about "Slesvig;" but the real name of the country, the name whose use does not commit us to either side, is forbidden.

Now, of all Low-Dutch-speaking lauds, it

is these very duchies which must al have the closest interest for us English I said that, besides our own England in Britain, besides the New England be the ocean, there was vet another Eng older than all. It is in these duchies The name of Angeln, w we find it. seems in earlier times to have reached a much larger region both north and s of the Eyder, is still borne by a small dis in Southern Sleswick, forming a sort of ner between the Baltic and the river That land is the oldest England, the which has always uninterruptedly born English name, no doubt from times old many ages than the first English settler in Britain. And I may add that there, oldest seats, the English name has been f open to the same sport of words for whi has supplied materials in its newer hon need not tell for the ten thousandth tim tale of Pope Gregory and those who "Non Angli, sed angeli." But it ma less widely known that an ancient Ge writer gravely discusses whether the lish, alike in the older or the newer A were so called from their angelic faces, or cause they dwelt in a corner, or angle, or land.



Now in this Angeln, our oldest England, the struggle between contending races and tongues has gone on at least as fiercely as in any part of the disputed territory. Sometimes the Danish has had the upper hand, sometimes the Low-Dutch. We, kinsmen of both alike, are hardly called on to decide between them. But we must protest against either of the rival tongues being made away with by distant cousins under false pretences. Danes, Saxons, Frisians, all alike eat and drink; we cannot tamely see any of them swallowed up by those who essen and trinken.

Here, then, wherever we choose to fix it along a most disputed and fluctuating line, we find the northern limit of the Low-Dutch speech; that is, of Low-Dutch as distinguished from Scandinaviau. If we choose, as for our purpose we fairly may, to count the Scandinaviau tongues as forms of the Low-Dutch, we may spread it farther over all Northern Europe, till we lose ourselves among non-Aryan Finns, Lapps, and suchlike. But, as I said, a wave of Teutonic conquest to the east carried the Low-Dutch speech over the whole southern coast of the Baltic, especially over the Wendish, that is, the Slavonic, lands of Mecklenburg and Pom-

erania. In all that region Low-Dutch has displaced Slavonic, though there can be no doubt that the mass of the people are of Slavonic descent. In one part of the country, in the two Mecklenburg duchies, the reigning princes are to this day sprung of the blood of the old Slavonic kings. And, as usual, High-Dutch has come in the wake of Low-Dutch, and has become the polite, the classical, the literary speech of this region also.

This extension of Low-Dutch speech to the east is interesting in itself, and it is further interesting to us as presenting some analogies to phenomena in our own island, of which I shall presently have to speak. But the extension of the Low-Dutch race and speech to the west, its great settlement beyond the sea, has been of far greater moment in the history of the world: for that great western migration of Low-Dutch tribes to the west, which takes up the greater part of the fifth and sixth centuries, gave birth to the English nation. Tribe after tribe-Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians-pressed across the sea to seek new homes in the Isle of Step by step, on many a field of battle, sometimes advancing, sometimes falling back, they won, inch by inch, the widest

and richest portion of the land from the men whom they found dwelling in it, men whose speech they understood not, and whom they therefore called the Welsh. A crowd of petty Teutonic states thus arose on British soil. each having for a long time to struggle for its being, alike against the common British enemy and against its own Teutonic neigh-Small states coalesced into greater ones; tribes grew into nations; Ealdormen grew into kings. A vague feeling of unity gradually arose among settlers who had all come from different points of the same long line of coast, and who all spoke slightly varving dialects of one common wide-spread speech. The military predominance of this or that tribe, the personal eminence of this or that ruler, the necessity, ever and anon more keenly felt, of union against the common enemy, led to the acknowledgment, the fitful and temporary acknowledgment, of some one among the many kings of the land to be, so long at least as he could hold his place, the common overlord of all. Thus out of scattered and often hostile tribes a nation was gradually formed. And a nation needed a name. Our Celtic neighbors had from the beginning called the Teutonic settlers in Britain, without distinction, by the name of

the tribe which, though not the first to settle, had been the first to ravage, and whose might of destruction, alike in the west and the north, they had first learned to feel. From the beginning the Celts-the Welshman, the Irishman, the Highlander-spoke of us as they do now. In their eyes all Teutons were Saxons, and every Teutonic land. was Saxony. But as the various Teutonic tribes in Britain gradually formed one nation, that nation came to be known, alike to itself and to the men of continental lands, by the name of the tribe which had won for itself the largest heritage of the conquered The name of Angles, or English, became the name of the united people—a name which they have handed on to their children to this day. So universal became its use that English writers used it even in recording the deeds of the first settlers of other tribes, so that the wars of the Jutish Hengest and Horsa appear in our national Chronicles as the wars of Englishmen. It is our true national name, which has been ours for a thousand years—a name which carries us back to the earliest days of our history in the Isle of Britain, and which carries us farther back to the old home of Angles in the corner land between the Baltic and the Slie.

The nation was known as English, and the nation gradually gave its name to the land in which it dwelt. So much of British soil as Englishmen had won and dwelt in, came to be known as Englaland, the land of English-And as in those far times men came from their old homes to turn Britain into England, so in later days their sons have again gone forth on the same errand. fleets once sailed from the Eyder, the Elbe, and the Weser to plant the English stock in the isle which men deemed another world. so mightier fleets have sailed forth from the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber, to plant yet again new branches of the same English stock in lands of which Briton and Englishman and Rome's own Cæsars had never heard.

Thus grew up the English nation, a nation formed by the union of various tribes of the same stock which passed over from the old Teutonic main-land to grow up as a new people in what their coming changed into a Teutonic island. The thing strongly to be insisted on and clearly to be understood, is that these Teutonic—these Low-Dutch—settlers in the fifth and sixth centuries are the true forefathers of the present English people; that they, and no one else,

formed the English nation. In plain words, we are ourselves, and we are not somebody else. We, the English of the nineteenth century, are the same people as the English of the fifth and sixth centuries, and not some other people. That which is Teutonic, that which is Low-Dutch, in us, is not one element among others; it is the nation itself. We have had infusions from other quarters: we may have picked up something from the Welsh whom we conquered; we certainly picked up a great deal from the Normans who conquered us. Here, in this part of England, the Danish settlement of the ninth century has left its abiding traces. But the little that came to us from a Celtic, the much that came to us from a Norman-that is, indirectly from a Roman-source, has all been assimilated to our original Teutonic essence. We did not become Welshmen or Normans. but the Welshman and the Norman became Englishmen. The Dane hardly needed assimilation; he was little more than another kindred tribe coming later than the others. And even the Norman was a disguised kinsman; he was a Dane who had gone into Gaul to get covered with a French varnish. and who came into England to be washed clean again. All these are perfectly plain



facts, only from many minds they are disguised by the use of a confused and unhappy nomenclature. Only realize that from the beginning, from the fifth century, there have been in this island Englishmen speaking the English tongue, and the real relation between the Teutonic substance of our race and speech and the various foreign infusions which have been mingled with it becomes at once as clear as daylight.

Look, for instance, at our language. superficial observer turns at once from the English of a thousand years back; he cannot at once understand it: so he calls it another language, and gives it another name. and calls it, not English, but Saxon. it is perfectly true that a piece of English a thousand years old is unintelligible, at first sight or first hearing, to those who have not made the English language and its history a matter of special study. But this is equally true of every other language. no part of Europe where the language used a thousand years back is not, at first sight or first hearing, unintelligible to those who have not made that language and its history a matter of special study. This or that word might be recognized; in some lan-guages more words would be recognized

be unintelligible. This is true of ancien and modern English; it is true of ancien cient and modern forms of any other speech. Our speech has greatly changed since the days of Ælfred; it has changed in two wars. It has lost nearly all its inflections, and it has Received a large infusion of foreign words into its vocabulary. nages also. All the other Low-Dutch and candinavian languages have lost their in-But so have other lanotions almost as ntterly as we have. Assical High-Dutch still keeps some of its lections; but it keeps only a few out of Ty, and what it does keep it keeps on

s sort of effort. The local ges local least of least



French itself: it is essentially a Romane language; it is simply a Latin dialect whose inflections have been very rudely treate But the actual vocabulary of the indeed. French language contains a large number of Teutonic words, a much larger number than we might be inclined to think at first sight. So the actual vocabulary of the English language contains a number of Romance, that is, of Latin or French, words, far larger than the number of Teutonic words to be found in French. The presence of Teutonic words in French, the presence of Romance words in Euglish, is of course mainly owing, in the one case, to the Frankish conquest of Gaul; in the other, to the Norman conquest of England. I allow that the foreign element in English is greater than it is in French; but I maintain that in each case it is exactly the same in kind. In each case alike it is not an original element, but an infusion; it is something foreign which has made its way at a later time into a mass which already existed. Teutonic element in French is not co-ordinate with the original Romance substance: it is a mere exotic. So the Romance element in English is not co-ordinate with the original Tentonic stock, but is a mere exotic

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH That one forms a large of the existing vocabulary that makes no difference. Though many of the Romance wor lish are useful, convenient, and in sense necessary, yet we can do with We can make sentence after sen purely Tentonic words, without Romance intruder; and though o guage may thus become a little an and obsolete, it is still intelligible, b it is still English. And the more in and the less artificial our speech is, the purely Teutonic it is. both in its highest and in its lowest flig get rid almost wholly of Romance wo. The language of prayer and worship, language of the highest poetry and of t highest oratory, may be all but purely Tel tonic. So may the speech of common life the speech which we use at our firesides to In wives, children, and servants. It is only then we get into anything which at all ap-Oaches the nature of abstract discussion st any large use of Romance words be-

nes really unavoidable. For instance, I not discuss the Romance element in our ne, I cannot argue at any length against base by affected and ignorant writers,

without myself using Romance words by the dozen. But take the other side. Try to talk English which shall consist of Romance words only, and the thing cannot be You will not be able to put together a single sentence. For all the commonest nouns and verbs, without which we cannot get on at all-all the commonest words of other kinds, all the articles, pronouns, conjunctions-all the words which are the real stuff, the real bones and flesh, of the language, are Teutonic to this day, I speak mainly of the vocabulary as the aspect of a language best suited to be dealt with before a popular audience. But an examination of the grammatical forms gives the same result. Large as is the Romance infusion into our speech, it is still merely an infusion, merely an exotic, not co-ordinate with the original substance, not interfering with what we may call its personal identity. The English language, after all changes, remains now, as it was a thousand years back, an essentially Teutonic speech.

We, then, are Low-Dutch in speech. This is a presumption, but it is not absolute proof, that we are Low-Dutch in blood. I believe that we are so—that is, that we are so in the only sense in which any nation can be

said to be of any particular blood. Physical purity of blood, the sort of purity of descent which would be needed to make out a legal claim to an estate, can never be found in the case of any nation. Every nation has its blood more or less mingled with the blood of other nations. If I say that the English are of Low-Dutch descent, I do not mean that none of us ever had a great-grandmother of any other stock. I mean that, as in our speech, so in our blood, the Low-Dutch part of us is the essence, and that anything else is a mere infusion. I mean that it is the Low-Dutch part of us which gives us our national being, our national character, our national history. It is that which makes us to be Englishmen, and not to be something else. I mean that we English are English as truly as High-Dutchmen are High-Dutchmen, as truly as Welshmen are Welshmen, as truly as any nation is itself and not some other nation. I now state this broadly. In my next lecture I hope to bring forward the facts which will make the assertion good.

But I must end with a warning, or rather with a qualification. As I said at starting, we are Low-Dutch, but we are Low-Dutch with a difference. We are Low-Dutchmen



who have been separated from the parent stock for thirteen hundred years. During that time, though our intercourse with the old land has never wholly stopped, we have had, on the whole, more to do, both in war and in peace, with other nations than we have had to do with our nearest continental kinsfolk. They have, during all those ages, been exposed to one set of influences: we have been exposed to another. They have remained on the Continent, forming part of the general system of continental Europe, forming especially part of the same great Teutonic kingdom as their kinsfolk of the High-Dutch stock. We have settled on an island -an island which was long looked on as another world-an island which has had its own history, its own revolutions, its own continental friends and enemies, but which has always refused every sign of subjection or homage to the kings and Cæsars of the main-land. The mere fact of living on an island-on an island, that is, large enough to move in a sphere of its own, and not to be a mere appendage to any neighboring part of the main-land-was of itself enough to stamp us with a peculiar insular character. to make us for some purposes stand by ourselves in opposition even to the most closely allied of continental nations. Our history, too, has been widely different from that of our kinsfolk. The rudest shock which our nationality ever underwent took the form of open attack, of momentary conquest, at the hands of men of wholly alien speech, though not of wholly alien blood. Through such a process our nationality came out in the end-only strengthened by the struggle. Something nearly akin to this has been the case among one branch of our continental brethren, and among one branch only. land and her sister provinces won their freedom in the long struggle with their Spanish oppressors, and they remain to this day the one continental branch of the Low-Dutch race which has preserved its nationality in the face of Europe, and which has not lost the acknowledged right of speaking its native tongue. Our brethren elsewhere have had to withstand, not the open attacks of strangers, but the subtler proselytism of a nearly allied speech which has won for itself a higher place in the world's esteem. For fourteen hundred years, almost every circumstance of our position and history has been different from the position and history of the great mass of our kinsfolk on the main-land. What, wonder then, if there be

II.

I have thus, in my former lecture, shown who we, the English people, are and whence we came. I have spoken of our old land and of our kinsfolk who still dwell in our old land. As we are not Romans or Britons, s neither are we Germans in the sense white that word commonly conveys to English

ears; that is, we are not of High-Dutch blood and speech, but of Low. But we are members of the great Teutonic family; we speak a form of the great Teutonic language -a form essentially the same as that which we find in the earliest monument of Teutonic speech. We are the brethren of the men who covered the Ocean and the Baltic with the fleets of the Hanseatic League; we are the brethren of the men who won the free soil of Holland and Zealand, first from the sea and then from the Spaniard. We are the kinsfolk one degree less near of the men who spread the name of Dane and Northman from the shores of Greenland to the shores of Africa—the men whose axes guarded the New Rome alike against Eastern and Western invaders—the men who fought at Stikkelstad and who fought at Lützen-the men whose lands, fallen indeed from their ancient power, still flourish under a freedom of native growth, and who, like ourselves, can reform without destroying. Such is our origin, such is our pedigree—an origin and a pedigree which we will not exchange for any share in the fabled antiquity of the Briton, for any share in the conquests or the bondage of imperial Rome.

But, as I said before, if we are Low-Dutch-

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of Europe in that age, before I come to describe another state of things in what the events of that age made our own island.

At the end of the fourth century, the

the Roman Empire still kept, in name a least, its old position as the mistress of a the nations surrounding the Mediterranes Sea. Egypt was a Roman province at or end: Britain was a Roman province at th other. The Roman power in Britain ha been confirmed and extended by the vict ries of Theodosius, and the dominion of Ca sar reached from the Ocean to the Euphra tes, from the wall of Antoninus to the cats racts of Syênê. Within that range all snl jects of the empire were Romans, entitle to all the rights and honors, if any right and honors were left, of the Roman nam Latin was everywhere the official language in the lands west of the Hadriatic it wa save here and there in some out-of-the-wa corners, the language of common life. from the Hadriatic to Mount Taurus Gree was the mother-tongue—the mother-tongu both of the lands originally Greek and o the lands which had been more or less tho oughly Hellenized, whether by Greek colon zation or by Macedonian conquest. far, from the Ocean to Mount Taurus,

may truly say that the whole land had come politically Roman; that it had become intellectually Roman in the western, at Greek in the eastern half. It was only i the lands of the farther east, in Syria and in Egypt, that a real nationality survived, and that the dominion, political and intellectual, of Greece and Rome was little more than a varnish on the surface. But with these lands we have now nothing to do; it was not by the Teuton or the Slave, but by the Saracen of a later day, that they were finally torn away from the dominion of Casar. As yet the whole Mediterranean world was to all appearance Roman, and it was not only Roman, but it was fast becoming Christian. The struggle between the old and the new faith was still going on; but Christianity was already the dominant, and it was plain that it would soon be the exclusive, religion. It was the living, the growing, the advancing faith: paganism remained the creed only of a few speculative philosophers at one end of society and of a few untaught peasants at But it might seem as if the old civilization of the Roman world had received he seeds of Christianity into its bosom only plant them again in a new stock; it might em that the mission of Christian Rome was simply to hand on the torch to a race of Christian proselytes whose civilization should be Christian from the beginning. To all outward sight the world was still Roman, ruled by princes who were still Roman Cæsars, Roman Augusti, who still assumed the titles of the old Roman Commonwealth, and bore the names of Consul, and Tribune, and Father of their Country. But the local Rome had long ceased to be the centre of the Roman world; and though the empire was still in theory one, yet the wielders of imperial power were many. Sometimes the Eastern and Western provinces were peacefully divided between real or adopted brothers; sometimes a daring adventurer, the popular commander of some distant province, seized on as large a portion of the empire as he could grasp, and constrained the earlier and more lawful holders of power to acknowledge him as an imperial colleague. One Cæsar might reign at Milan, another at Constantinople, a third at Paris, a fourth at Antioch. And of all provinces of the empire none was more fertile than Britain in adventurers of this kind; the imperial ensigns were often seen in York and London no less than in Milan and Ravenna. all this Roman world there was no true na-

tionality anywhere. The Roman Em. was, through all the ages of its being, ame all its changes and all its dwelling-plac not a nation, but only a power. It had . real nationality of its own, and it had wipe out well-nigh all signs of earlier nationalit in its provinces. The inhabitant of Gaul o. Spain called himself a Roman, and gloried in the Roman name. But he had not the old Roman patriotism of the men who first made Gaul and Spain Roman. Neither had he the old Gaulish or Spanish patriotism of the men who strove in vain to hinder Gaul and Spain from becoming Roman. Through the whole length and breadth of the empire there was a deep feeling of attachment to the empire as the representative of law and civilization, the bulwark against barbarian invasion. But there was no trace of the burning patriotism which kindled the hearts of the Romans of old when Brennus and Pvrrhus and Hannibal threatened Rome herself. There was, in short, as there always will be where no true national feeling exists, much of passive but little of active loyalty. rovince thought of setting up for itself, of rswearing its Roman allegiance, of assertg its earlier nationality, of founding a nanal commonwealth, or choosing a national king. If a province or several provinces submitted to the separate sway of a successful rebel, it was always needful that he should legalize his power by assuming the titles of Roman sovereignty. The local emperors-tyrants, as they were called-who reigned in Gaul and Britain, are not national kings of Gaul or Britain, but sharers in the common sovereignty of the Roman world. But if no province thought of revolting against the Roman dominion, no province was ready to offer any steady patriotic resistance to any invaders of the Roman dominion. The vast field of the Roman Empire stood open for younger and more energetic nations to march in and take posses-And in the course of the fifth century, in all the Latin provinces of the empire, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, in Italy itself, the Teutonic nations did march in and take possession. So they did nearly at the same time in Britain also. But the process by which the English occupied Britain, and the process by which the other Teutonic nations occupied the continental provinces of the empire, were processes that were poles asun-

In all the continental provinces of Europe, the Tentonic settlers entered the dominion

of the empire in a twofold character. They were half conquerors, but they were also half disciples. They had long been familiar with Rome and her civilization. They had long dwelt along the frontiers of the empire; and if they sometimes crossed those frontiers as enemies, they also often crossed them as soldiers in the Roman service or as colonists settling with the leave of the Roman authorities. The vast fabric of Roman power and Roman society had a deep influence-one might almost say a sort of fasci-Teutonic chiefs, nation—over their minds. who were for every practical purpose independent kings, who indeed bore the royal title among their own countrymen, were content to profess themselves subjects of the empire, and to legalize what was really conquest of Roman territory by receiving some Roman title - consul, perhaps, or patrician-at the hands of the reigning emper-The change in their position was gradual: it is hard to say at what moment in each particular case the Roman general or magistrate, bearing rule in a Roman province by a commission-however unwillingly granted by the Roman Emperor-changed into the independent king, reigning over a kingdom which had become altogether severed from the Roman dominion. For instance, it is commonly said that Odoacer and Theodoric called themselves Kings of Italy; but there is absolutely no authority for the statement. Theodoric was a king, because he was king of his own people, the East-Goths; but he was not King of Italy. His rule in Italy was practically that of an independent monarch; in form he was something between a subject and a colleague of the Roman Emperor who still reigned at Constantinople. The whole fabric of Roman government and Roman society went There was still a Roman Senate, a Roman people, Roman consuls, Roman patricians. In his state-papers, a vast mass of which are extant, Theodoric-or rather Cassiodorus in his name --- carefully abstains from any language which could remind his Italian subjects that their ruler was either a king or a conqueror. And I ought, perhaps, to add that no vulgar error is more utterly groundless than that which looks on the Goths and other Tentonic settlers as wilful destroyers of Roman buildings or of other works of Roman skill. Far from so doing, they admired, they preserved, and, as far a the decaying art of the time allowed, the imitated them. Theodoric, above all, wa

the great preserver of the buildings of Rome and Italy, which had begun to fall into decay under the weak administration of the later emperors.

In Theodoric we no doubt see the fairest aspect of the Teutonic king settled on Roman ground. We are not justified in supposing-indeed our evidence will not allow us to suppose-that the government of every Tentonic prince who settled in Gaul or Spain was equally beneficent, or was carried on with a like regard to the habits, feelings. and prejudices of his Roman subjects. nowhere was the Teutonic rule a rule of Everywhere, in Europe pure destruction. at least, the conquerors were brought, in a greater or less degree, under the charm of Roman influences. A seizure of lands, greater or smaller, but carried on commonly according to a fixed and regular proportion. accompanied the first settlement; but, after this, the Roman inhabitants were not They retained their own laws, disturbed. while the Teutons, or, as they thought it no scorn to call themselves, the Barbarians, re-Two separate societies, Rotained theirs. man and Teutonic, sat for awhile side by side in the same land; gradually the two intermingled, each, of course, influencing the other in many ways, but with the balance of real and abiding influence decidedly in favor of the Roman.

In the three countries of which I am maiuly speaking - Italy, Spain, and Gaul - the proportion between the Roman and Teutonic elements in the formation of the modern nations of those countries naturally differs. The Teutonic element is naturally weakest in Italy and strongest in Gaul. And we must here, as ever, make the needful distinction between the two parts of Gaul, a forgetfulness of which has so often plunged men's historical ideas into utter confusion. In Northern Gaul—Gaul north of the Loire. France strictly so called—the Franks really settled, and became, not indeed the people. but the ruling class. But in Southern Gaul -in Gaul south of the Loire, in Aquitaine and Burgundy as distinguished from France -the sway of the Franks was at most a lax political dominion, a dominion which was often thrown off altogether. In these provinces the Teutonic element, such as it is, is not Frankish, but Gothic and Burgundian. It is also far less in degree than it is in Gaul north of the Loire; in truth, Aquitaine, and above all Provence, are as really Roman as Spain or Northern Italy.

But allowing for differences in proportion, the elements, Roman and Teutonic, in all these countries are the same, and the respective spheres of the influence of the two elements are the same. I speak of the two elements, Roman and Teutonic. The native elements in Gaul and Spain, the Iberian and Celtic elements which prevailed before the Roman Conquest, are indeed in their own way of great importance. The blood of the people in Gaul and Spain is, beyond doubt, mainly Celtic and Iberian to this day. there is no doubt that, as the blood remains, so the national character remains also. Frenchman is still essentially a Celt; the Spaniard is still essentially an Iberian. But long before the Teutonic invasions, the native elements in any outward guise, the use, above all, of the native languages, had shrunk up into out-of-the-way corners, as in out-ofthe-way corners they abide still. The land was throughout Romanized, and it was far more than superficially Romanized. ernment, language, laws, religion, literature. all intellectual life of any kind, all became The native element survived, but it survived unconsciously: the Celt or the Iberian had come to look upon himself as a Roman and nothing else. Now these great

branches of human life, which before the Teutonic invasions were wholly Roman, were after the Teutonic invasions partitioned, as it were, between the Roman and the Tentonic elements. The Tentons had on their side physical force, the power of government, the power of the sword. The political and military institutions of these countries became far more Tentonic than Roman. The chief real exception to this rule is when cities either uninterruptedly retained their Roman municipal constitutions, or framed for themselves constitutions of the same kind in after-times. It is an artificial exception when, at a later time, the heritage of the Roman Empire passed to a Tentonic king, and when the new Cæsars strove to step as nearly as might be into the position and authority of their Roman pred-It is another artificial exception when the ingenuity of French lawyers disinterred the precepts of the Civil Law, and strove to clothe the kings of the French, if not with the titles, yet at least with the attributes, of Roman emperors. Setting aside exceptions of this kind, there can be no doubt that the political and military inst tutions of Spain and Gaul are far more Te tonic than they are Roman. In Italy t

case is different; but the strength of the Roman element there is due wholly to the predominant importance of the cities, whose great development, however, did not begin till ages after the Gothic, and even after the Lombard, conquest. But when we turn to other branches of man's life, which are certainly not less important than those of government and warfare, we shall find that the Roman altogether led captive his Tentonic conqueror. What is the language of Italy, Spain, Aquitaine, and France? I say Aquitaine and France; for in all these inquiries Gaul north and south of the Loire must be looked on as two countries as distinct as either of them is from Spain and Italy. What is the still living speech of all these lands? It is simply Latin. As it is not Celtic or Iberian, so neither is it Tentonic. The Roman taught his speech alike to the carlier inhabitants whom he conquered and to the later invaders who conquered him. The Italian, Spanish, Provencal, and French langnages, with other less important tongues of the same family, on which I need not now dwell, are all simply dialects, varieties, corruptions if we please, of the old speech of Even French, which has changed more than any of the others, is essentially

Latin, and nothing else. The Celtic element in the French vocabulary is wonderfully small; the Teutonic element is considerably larger. But both are mere infusions: a few Celtic and a few more Teutonic words have crept into a tongue whose whole life and soul, and a vast majority of its actual vocabulary, is essentially Latin. And many of the usages in which French and the sister tongues depart most widely from the classical Latin can easily be shown to be real Latin usages, but usages which were chiefly confined to the colloquial, rustic, vulgar speech, and which are rarely found in the book-Latin of classical times. These languages are, on account of their Roman origin, known to philologers as the Romance languages. They are simply Latin, subject to the changes which a language cannot fail to go through in the space of fourteen hundred years, especially when it becomes the speech of whole nations of whom it is not the mother-tongue. The Romans in the provinces went on speaking such Latin as they had been used to speak; that is, not exactly such Latin as Cicero wrote, or indeed such as they wrote themselves. Gaul, and still more in Italy, wave after wave of Teutonic immigrants pressed it but one

after another all gradually cast away their Teutonic speech, and learned to use instead such forms or corruptions of the speech of Rome as they found in use in the conquered land. Spain and a small part of Southern Gaul had to struggle against another enemy. No new Teutons came after the first settlements, but the Saracen came instead, with a language, a creed, a whole social system, utterly different from anything before known to Celt, Roman, or Teuton. The Saracen came; his sway was long and brilliant; but he is gone, and though he has left his traces on Spanish soil alike in language and in other matters, still he is gone, and Spain remains a Latin-speaking land to this day.

But there is another point, not less important than that of language, and whose history was closely connected with that of language. I mean religion. The Roman habitants of the provinces into which the Teutonic conquerors pressed not only taught their conquerors their language; they also taught them their creed. The Teutonic conquests seem, indeed, to have given the final stroke to the old Roman heathendom, and it is certain that the new immigrants nowhere established their own Teutonic heathendom in any Romanized land. In-

deed, with the exception of the Franks who settled in Northern Gaul, it would not seem that any of the Teutonic nations were still heathen at the time of their settlement within the empire. Most of them, the Goths preeminently, had already embraced Christianity in the days of their wanderings; the Goths, as we should ever remember, had been converted by that Wulfila whose version of the Scriptures I have already spoken of as the oldest monument of Tentonic speech. But this work of conversion was wholly a Roman work: the Teutons were converted by Roman or Romanized captives and missionaries; it was as the religion of Rome, Old and New, that Christianity presented itself to the eyes of those who were the conquerors and at the same time the disciples of Rome. In fact, if we cast our eye over the world and scan the religious history of each part of it, we shall find that Christianity is to this day, in very truth, the religion of the Roman Empire and of those nations which were brought within the range of the influence of Rome. But, as if to make it yet more clear that the conquerors were in every case to adopt the religion of the conquered, it so happened that all or most of the Teutonic nations had embraced Christianity in a shape which did not obtain final acceptance at the hands either of the Old or of the New Rome. It was during the theological controversies of the fourth century that Christianity first became known to the Tentonic nations, and to most of them it first became known in its Arian form. Within the empire, on the other hand, alike in the East and in the West, the final result of those controversies was the general establishment of the Catholic creed. Thus, in nearly every case where a Teutonic State arose within the borders of the empire, it happened that religious differences for awhile divided the conquerors from the conquered. Tenton differed from the Roman, not as heathen from Christian, but as heretic from Catholic. The results of this difference were not the same in every land. The great Theodoric was the first of recorded rulers to establish a wise toleration which allowed Catholics, heretics, and even Jews, to worship each one as they would. In Africa, on the other hand, the dominion of the Arian Vandals became a cruel tyranny, a reign of bitter persecution for the Catholic provincials. The Goths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa were, at least as distinct nations with a creed and language of their own, swept away during the wars of Justinian; whatever remnants of them survived must have been lost in the general mass of orthodox Romans. Elsewhere the invaders, whether heathens or heretics, gradually received the religion of their subjects at the hands of their subjects. In the case of the heathen Franks the process was not even gradual; the first prince who finally established the Frankish power on Gaulish soil was also the first to learn to burn what he had worshipped and to worship what he had burned, the first to bend his flowing locks to receive the unction of the converting and consecrating oil of Rheims. The Arian Goths in Spain, the Lombards, the second Arian conquerors of Italy, came, by a process slower but equally sure, to embrace the orthodox creed of their Roman subjects. for Southern Gaul, that was the prize which the orthodox Frank, fresh from baptism and still eager for conquest, won from its heretic lords in the first of the crusades that Paris has waged against Toulouse. everywhere in the continental provinces of Rome did the Tentonic conquerors become Christian and Catholic. And they became Christian and Catholic not at the hands of missionaries from other lands, but at the hands of their own subjects, of the men whom their own swords or the swords of their fathers had overcome. Thus, in Italy, Spain, and Gaul the old Roman ecclesiastical traditions went on without interruption. The succession of bishops remained unbroken; their thrones still remained placed in the Roman cities where they had been placed from the beginning; the limits of their dioceses were still the same as the limits of the Roman civil divisions at the time when the ecclesiastical organization was first traced out. The old worship went on, without change or interruption, on the old altars, where priests of Roman birth and speech ministered in the Roman tongue to the Teutonic king and his Teutonic nobles. The clergy retained their power, their wealth, and the influence which sprang alike from their power and wealth and from the higher intellectual culture of the race to which they belonged. Long after the conquest the clergy still remained a Roman body. It is not till a much later time that we find men of barbarian birth and name among the prelates of the Romanized lands.

Thus, great as was the shock, fearful as must have been the immediate blow, when

the Tentons settled in the Roman provinces. yet the older Roman and Christian society lived through it. The Church, Roman and Christian, its creed, its worship, its hierarchy. its geographical divisions, all went on under the Frankish or Gothic king, as if Rheims and Toledo had still been parts of the dominions of Theodosius or Justinian. Roman speech still survived; the old names of places, Roman and older than Roman, still remained in use. The vague reverence for the name of Rome, for the sanction of her laws and for the majesty of her emperors. was never utterly wiped out. There is no gap, no chasm, no break of historical continuity, utterly severing the days of Roman dominion from the days of Teutonic dominion which followed them. There is no intervening period of darkness between two periods of light; there is no time during which contemporary records fail, and for which we have to look to legend and tradition for such help as they can give us. Let us go to one of the old cities of Gaul; let us stand, for instance, on the steep of Le Mans, and behold the traces of well-nigh every age since a time earlier than recorded history.

shall we see circuit within circuit, wall within wall; we shall see the highest poir crowned by the Gaulish hill-fort swelling into the earliest Roman enclosure which still bears the name of the Old Rome. We see the Roman city outgrowing its earliest boundaries, and girded lower down the hill with a rampart of the days of Constantine or of Casars later still. We see the palace of the ancient counts, growing, as it were, out of the Roman wall, and the fragment which is all that the policy of Richelieu has left of the tower of our own Conqueror. We see the mediæval walls embracing yet a wider circuit, and the modern city spreading itself again far beyond even this wider enclosure. We see the houses, great and small, of every form of architecture, from the eleventh century to our own day. above all, we see the vast cathedral, the noble though incongruous work of so many ages, the portal which opened to receive the Conqueror, the ruins of the tower which was levelled at the bidding of his son, the soaring apse to make room for which the Roman pomærium itself has had to Thus, on that wondrous group of so many ages, we see, written in letters legible enough, that here is a city whose continuous life has never been interrupted, which has gone on as a dwelling-place of man, as a seat of local dominion, from the days of Casar, and from the old time before him. Every age save one has left its impress on that ancient city; the works of one period alone are wanting. Older and newer monuments are there in abundance, but no church, no wall, no castle, dates from the days immediately following the Frankish conquest.

And why? Because the Frank came not as a destroyer to overthrow the monuments of earlier times, nor yet, like some later conquerors, did he come to leave behind him a marked change in art as one of the visible memorials of his coming. He was contented with what he found in the city of his conquest, and he sought neither to destroy nor to improve. He dwelt in the Roman house; he prayed in the Roman church; his city needed no defence beyond its Roman rampart. It was not till a later age that art struck out new forms for itself, and the works of Roman times gave way to buildings of another style. And even those buildings were for a long time only developments of Roman forms, whose history shows us

that the mighty works of the empire were still the models of their founders. On a site like this, where there is no breach, no gap, where a city has been simply extending its borders during a space of nineteen hundred years, the lack of living monuments of the very age of the conquest simply shows that the conquest was not a conquest of destruction, but that the Roman city, its buildings and its inhabitants alike, lived on unhurt and undisturbed, though its lord was now the Frankish king, and not the Roman Cæsar.

I have drawn out this picture at length, because it is only by thoroughly grasping the nature of the Teutonic conquests on the Continent that we can rightly understand the utterly different nature of the Teutonic conquest of our own island. Before I go any farther, let me ask you one question, the most obvious, yet the most important, of all. The language of Italy, Gaul, and Spain is, as we have seen, Roman to this day. The speech of those whom the Romans conquered lingers only in obscure corners: the speech of those who conquered the Romans has vanished altogether. how stands the case in our own island? There is no corner of it in which Latin, or any tongue of Latin origin, is the speech of the people. Every man, from one end of Freat Britain to the other, who understands atin or any tongue derived from Latin. has learned it as a lesson. His mothertongue is either the speech which was in the land before the Romans came into it, or else the speech which did not come into the land till the Romans had ceased to rule in The dominant speech, the speech of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Great Britain, is that very speech which is nowhere the living speech of Italy, Spain, Aquitaine, or France. The dominant speech of Britain is a speech which is still essentially the same as the Teutonic speech which was brought into the land by its first Teutonic conquerors; that is to say, the speech of the vast majority of the people of Great Britain is English. And wherever English is not spoken, or where it is spoken only as a foreign tongue, the speech of the land is one variety or another of the old Celtic tongue which was here before the Roman conquest. Welshmen and Highlanders together make up but a small minority of the people of Great Britain; but they make up a minority very much larger in proportion than that minority of the inhabitants of modern France who still cleave to the old Basque and Breton tongues. And if we add Cornwall and those parts of Scotland whence Gaelic has vanished in comparatively modern times, the Celtic portion of Britain becomes by no means inconsiderable. Remember, I speak only of Britain-of England, Wales, and Scotland; with Ireland, which the Romans never occupied, we have nothing to do. In short, the phenomena of Britain with regard to language are exactly the opposite to those of the continental countries. In Britain the predominant language is Teutonic; the exceptional language is Celtic: Latin has no place at all. In Gaul, Spain, and Italy the all but universal language is Latin; the exceptional Celtic and Iberian is of far smaller extent than the exceptional Celtic of Britain; Teutonic has no place at all. Where the phenomena of language are so utterly different, we may fairly expect to find that the nature and circumstances of the Tentonic conquest of Britain were utterly different from those of any of the Teutonic conquests on the Continent. And the evidences of history will not disappoint us in this expectation.

The fact on which I insisted so strongly in my former lecture, that the English are of Low-Dutch and not of High-Dutch origin, is only indirectly connected with the differences which I am about to point out. Many of the Teutonic occupants of the continental

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Low-Dutch origin. First e the Goths. The Lomprobably of Low - Dutch were accompanied in their by a body of Saxons. The e difference between High he matter is this: Our conby sea directly from our old Germany; the other cone by land by tribes which. their conquest, could harde any settled homes at all. of difference involved the between the two kinds of Goths, Franks, Lombards, ndering hither and thither of the empire, sometimes esar, sometimes his soldiers, ictual settlement gained no with the laws, religion, and mpire. They had learned d respect its political, rel system. The position of rs was altogether different. ng of Rome, and Rome knew till they actually landed on eir land had never been ocnan legion, or received the of a Roman proconsul.

had never so much as seen the passage of the Roman eagles, save possibly, ages before, in the momentary incursion of Drusus. They had never served in a Roman army; they had never trembled at the rod of the centurion, or received lands at the hands of Casar as the reward of faithful services to the Roman commonwealth. Their brethren, entering the empire by land, advancing step by step, changing from enemies into allies and from allies into conquerors, had learned to respect the civilization of Rome, and to feel themselves raised even by its empty honors and titles. Our forefathers, coming straight by sea from their old land, had none of these feelings. They had no respect for a civilization of which they knew nothing. They set no store by titles which, so far as they understood their meaning, would seem to them badges of slavery. They knew nothing of the religion of the empire; no Christian missionary had reached the Elbe or the Weser; no Christian captive had carried the tidings of salvation to the house of his bond-In short, while our kinsfolk who occupied the continental provinces were half Romanized before they settled within the borders of the empire, our own forefathers entered Britain in all the untamed and unsoftened barbarism of the old Tentonic life. They came as simple destroyers. In the course of the fourth century the Saxon pirates became as fearful a scourge to the shores of Roman Britain as their descendants in the sixteenth century became to the Spanish colonists in America. These incursions of the Saxons in the fourth century were the first undoubted appearance of independent Tentons in the Isle of Britain. I see no good ground for believing that any of the inhabitants of Britain before the Roman occupation were of Teutonic origin. But, if it were so, it seems to me that the fact is far from having all the importance which has sometimes been attached to it. dicea and her Iceni were of Teutonic blood. the traces of their original Tentonism could hardly have been very strong in their descendants in the latter half of the fourth They must, long before that time, have been merged in the general mass of the Roman provincials of the island, and they would seem as Welsh to the first Saxon buccancers as the purest Celt among the subjects of Caradoc. That, among the various legions from all parts of the empire which were quartered in Britain, some consisted of troops levied among men of Teutonic birth,

there is no kind of doubt. But it is not easy to see what the fact proves. A few drops of Teutonic blood may in the same way have crept into the veins of the provincials of any other part of the empire no less than in Britain. And the presence in Britain of legions levied in other quarters may have caused slight infusions of blood from other sources just as readily as from that of the Tenton. The fact at most proves, what nobody ever doubted, that no nation, English, Welsh, or any other, can claim any strict physical and genealogical purity of blood. But the Saxons of the fourth century were undoubtedly the first Teutons who appeared in Britain, not as the subjects or the soldiers. but as the enemies of Rome. They were the vanguard of that later Teutonic occupation of Britain of which our own presence here is the result. You will mark that, at this stage of my story, I say the Saxons. because, in the accounts which we have of these early Teutonic incursions, the Saxons are the only people mentioned. As in every other case of the kind, this mention of a particular tribe by no means proves that no other tribes besides the tribe specially mentioned took part in these incursions. In almost every case of the kind the leading nation brings

multitude of kindred allies and subjects, and even of mere adventurers who have no special tie of any kind to the leaders of the host When we read of a Saxon invasion, we need not suppose that every one man in the invading fleet was, strictly speaking, a Saxon Many may have belonged to Teutonic tribes other than the Saxon; some even may no have been of Teutonic birth at all. What is proved is that the expedition was an expe dition in which the life and soul was Sax

on, an expedition planned and led by Saxon leaders, and in which at least the great ma jority of those who followed them were

Saxons also. The prominence of the Saxon in these early expeditions is also shown by the fact that the parts of Britain which lay specially open to their incursions, the eastern and south-eastern coasts of the island, were

man officer, bearing the title of the Coun of the Saxon Shore, was intrusted with it

Saxon Shore, this shore which Saxons we in the habit of invading, has often been r taken for a Saxon shore in the sense shore inhabited by Saxons. But this exploded error, which, like so many

A special Ro

known as the Saxon Shore.

defence against the invaders.

errors, has been cast to the winds by Dr. Guest. The name itself is the only thing which could have suggested the notion of an earlier Saxon settlement, a notion for which there is no other evidence of any kind. And the name just as naturally bears another meaning. The Saxon Shore is just like the Welsh March, the Breton March, the Spanish March, the march or border of England, France, or any other country against such and such neighbors. The Count of the Saxon Shore held an office exactly analogous to our own Lords Marchers, or to those German Margraves planted to defend Germany against the Slave and the Magyar, whose offices have so strangely grown up into the great Prussian and Austrian monarchies. An island cannot in strictness have marches or borders, but practically the Saxon Shore was the Saxon March, the frontier where Saxon irruptions were to be feared, and vhere special preparations had to be made or defence against them.

These early Saxon invasions led to no peranent Saxon or other Teutonic settlement the Isle of Britain. Whether permanent by the ment was intended by the Saxon ravers of Britain in the fourth century we ve no direct means of knowing. But the

was thought of, and that the notion of permanent settlement did not arise till afterward. At all events, if permanent settledesigns were effectually baffled.

ment in Britain was designed by any Teutonic tribe in the fourth century, any such whole history of the Roman power, Eastern and Western, nothing is more remarkable than the constant revivals of vigor and of success, which happen often at moments when the empire seems to lie open to the free entrance of any invader, and when its utter wiping out seems to be at most an affair of a few years sooner or later. So it was in the fourth century. Earlier in that century than the time of which we are now speaking, nearly the whole of Gaul was overrun by Teutonic invaders. The Roman power north of the Alps seemed to be at its last gasp. But the invaders were driven bac' by the sword of Julian; the Roman pow

in Gaul was again firmly established for couple of generations, and traces of enabled to linger on for a couple of

tions more. So in Britain, the Picts were pressing in by land, the Saxons were pressing in by sea, the Scots-at once the Scots of Ireland and their colonists in Northern Britain - were pressing into the province by land and sea alike. But the destiny of Rome and Cæsar was still too strong for them; the Roman Terminus was not yet fated finally to give way. The strong arm of Theodosius and Stilicho drove back alike Picts, Scots, and Saxons; the Roman province in Britain was again extended from the wall of Hadrian to the wall of Antoninus: and the hope of any successful Teutonic invasion of Britain was put off till the next And it is characteristic of the imperial rule that the two heroes who wrought this great salvation for the decaying empire were both doomed to pay with their lives the penalty of the greatest of crimes under a despotic government-the crime of being wiser and braver than their sovereign.

The first Teutonic invasions of Britain were thus mere incursions for plunder and havoc, or, if settlement was intended, the design was thwarted by the still abiding strength of the Roman power. But the Saxon inroads of the fourth century were not without their lasting result. They cannot

the Saxon name to become familiar t Celtic inhabitants of Britain earlier the name of any other Tentonic people. natural and familiar process the name part was applied to the whole, and the V and the Scots both of Ireland and of B learned to apply the Saxon name to all tons without distinction. The habit strengthened by the fact, which we presently come across, that the first Te ic invaders both of the present Wales of the present Cornwall actually were ons. From that day to this, though, as as the Teutons in Britain had any cor name among themselves—that name wa gles or English-they have been, in then of Welshmen, Irishmen, and Highlander ways spoken of as Saxons. The habit curious trace of an almost forgotten of history. In Celtic mouths there is word to be said against it; but when lishmen follow the same practice, it leads to confusion. For when we tal "Saxons" as a chronological term, we following no usage at all, not even th The Welshman calls an Eng the Celts. man a Saxon now, just as he did a thoù or thirteen hundred years back. fined confusion of calling a nation Saxe to a certain date, and English after it, has not occurred to him.

Thus, in the fourth century, the Roman power in Britain was still strong enough to beat back the earliest Tentonic invaders of the island. In the next century all was changed. Within its first years the Teutons were pouring into the empire on every side, Alaric and his Goths marched to and fro through the unresisting provinces, Eastern and Western; and if even they felt the edge of the sword of Stiliche, yet, when he was gone, they could do what Pyrrhus and Hannibal had failed to do, and renewed the exploit of Brennus in an occupation of the Eternal City itself. Remember-it is not well that we should forget-that the first men who entered as conquerors within the gates of imperial Rome were men of our bone and our flesh, men of which it is but a slight exaggeration to say that they spoke the tongue which we are speaking now. Elsewhere the empire was breaking up in the like sort. When Alaric was dead, his successor Athaulf led his followers into Spain. and there, with all the due formalities of an imperial commission, founded the independent monarchy of the Spanish Goths. allegiance even of Gaul became nominal; a

small portion only of the country retained

any practical allegiance to Rome; the Gothic kings of Spain ruled over Aquitaine, and the Franks and Burgundians began to es tablish themselves in the eastern parts of the country. Armorica for a moment act ually fell away, the only spot within the Roman dominion which seems ever to have willingly thrown off the honors or the bur dens of the Roman name. How, then, should Britain still cleave to an empire from which its nearer provinces were daily being lopped away? The Roman legions were recalled by Honorius for the defence of nearer interests, and Britain, after more than four hundred years of Roman dominion, was left to shift for itself as it might. Now comes that great gap in the history of the island which has no parallel in the history of Italy of Spain or Gaul, the gap which divides Celtic and Roman Britain from our own Tentonic Now comes the time of historic England. darkness through which we have to grope our way by the flickering light of legend and tradition, helped only by the light, one degree less dim, of the single chronicler of the vanquished race. No time in European annals opens a wider field of conjecture, no time gives us less of safe historic ground t

walk upon, than the years when Britain had ceased to be Roman and had not yet begun to be English. There is no time that we should be better pleased to know in minute detail, there is no time when the recovery of a single detail is so thoroughly hopeless. And yet our very lack of knowledge is instructive: the thicker the darkness, the clearer is the light that it gives us. It is this very darkness, this very want of knowledge, which shows us more plainly than anything else how wide was the difference between the English conquest of Britain and any other Teutonic occupation of a Romanized land. By the light of our darkness, by the teaching of our ignorance, we are enabled to see that, while the dweller in Ganl is still a Romanized Celt, while the dweller in Spain is still a Romanized Iberian, the dweller in the widest and richest part of the Isle of Britain is not a Celt or a Roman, but an Englishman.

At the state of Britain during this time of darkness we can do no more than guess. The fact that the Latin language nowhere survives, that whatever in Britain is not English is still Celtic, the fact that this same state of things can be traced as far back as we can trace anything at all, may



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possibly show that Britain was less thoroughly Romanized than Gaul and Spain. Wales is at this moment no more Latin than England is, and there is nothing to show that a thousand years back it was any more Latin than it is now. And Wales, I would again remark, even in the later and narrower use of the word, is a much larger and more important part of Southern Britain than the Breton and Basque-speaking districts are of France and Spain. Wales has a far better claim to be looked on as a sample of Britain before the coming of the English. than Brittany has to be looked on as a sample of Gaul before the coming of the Franks. Still, though Britain was probably less thoroughly Romanized than the continental provinces, it cannot have been so little Romanized as we might be led to think by the present state of Wales. Latin was undoubtedly the speech of the cities, the speech of government, literature, and polite life. was under a cloud, just as English was, ages after, in the days of Norman rule. But the present prevalence of Welsh shows that it must have been much more extensively spoken, that it must have been much more truly the speech of the people at large, during the days of Roman dominion in Britain, than the Celtic and Iberian tongues were during the days of Roman dominion in Gaul and Spain; and, after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, everything would tend to weaken the Roman and to strengthen the Celtic element in the country. The cities, the greatest of all Roman elements, would remain Roman still: but with their connection with the imperial centre they lost their connection with one another; they would remain, no longer municipalities of a vast empire, but weak and isolated commonwealths in a disorganized and often hostile land. The powers, military and civil, of the Roman magistracy ceased, and there was no established Celtic system on which men could fall back for government and protec-The sad picture which Gildas draws, the picture of utter confusion and anarchy, is no more than was natural in the case; but it is a picture of a Roman province falling in pieces after the central Roman power had been withdrawn. The language is still Roman; Roman not, as in mediæval writers, by imitation or affectation, but by gennine retention. Vortigern, in the later story a king, is still in Gildas a Roman duke. But in such a state of things society must have been pretty well brought back to its



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first elements. The power which for four hundred years had been the only representative of law and government had suddenly vanished. Every city, every district, almost every man, must have had to fight for his own land. The land stood open for any enterprising invader to seize upon, and our fathers were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity which was set before them.

And now, about the middle of the fifth century, began the English conquest of Britain. From the whole coast from Lake Flevo to the Baltic the tribes of Low-Dutch speech began to pour into the land which seemed almost to call for conquerors. Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Frisians, other tribes no doubt whose names have vanished, pressed on to have their share in the work. They came not now for mere momentary plunder, for the hope of gain, or for the excitement of warfare; they came to make the land of Britain their own. The keels of Hengest and Horsa led the way: and as Kent had been the first land to feel the tread of the Roman invader. as Kent was to be the first land to welcome the Roman missionary, so Kent was now the first spot in the Isle of Britain where the Teutonic conqueror found himself an abiding home. Let us go back to that day, the day

of the birth of our nation, when the first Englishman set foot on the shores of Brit-Our fathers came, it may well be, according to the well-known legend, as mercenaries in the pay of a native prince. Duke Vortigern may, like many a Roman Cæsar, have thought it policy to arm one set of barbarian enemies against another. whether they entered Kent as mercenaries or as avowed pirates, with or without the consent of the British ruler of the province, when they had once made their way into the land, they abode in it, and they abode in it as its masters. With their landing the history of England begins. It is, indeed, not till long after that the name of Englaland was established as the geographical name of all Teutonic Britain. But the first settlers themselves, though we read distinctly that their proper tribe-name was Jutes, are called English from the beginning, and the name Angel-cyn is used from the beginning as the common name of all the Teutonic set-From that small settlement grew up the English dominion in Britain, and the dominion of Englishmen throughout the world. The Jutes of Kent became comparatively insignificant in later history: while the Angle gave his name to the people and

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their land, while the Saxon gave his royal dynasty to the united nation, the only boast remaining to the Jute was that the motherchurch of England stood on his soil. it was Hengest and his Jutes who began the work; Angles and Saxons did but follow in their wake. There was a time when Kent was England; there was a still earlier time when England reached no farther than so much of Kentish soil as the crews of the invading keels had already made their own. And it is well to mark what constant struggles were needed, how many years of warfare passed, before the English invaders had full possession even of that one corner of Britain. Legend carries Hengest into nearly every quarter of the island; in more trustworthy tradition his exploits do not reach beyond the bounds of his own Kentish pen-Here, again, is another marked difference between the English conquest of Britain and the other Teutonic conquests in Gaul and Spain. On the Continent the Teutons, when they finally came, came in like a flood: they settled where they would; the provincials hardly struck a blow against them-and no wonder, when the invader in many cases came in the guise of a Roman general, with a lawful commission from the

wers, and the differen chose whom they invaded. nental provinces, as we have sec. no room for any strictly national and loyalty to the central power sive rather than active. to revolt against Casar, but the very urgent motive to fight on h But in Britain, the very withdraw central power, the very break-up of and government, must have called f most intense patriotism, if not of a national at least of a local kind. Men who

not have cared to fight for Rome or el Britain, would wage war to the knife fend each inch of his own immediat ritory against a heathen and barbarot For we must never forget how sentially our own settlement in Britain fering from all the other

ments, was a only

han:_

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of a certain fixed share of his landed rty. He was not overcome by a conr of the same religious faith as himthe respected the political and social of the land which he invaded. he invasion of our own forefathers all down. The worshippers of Woden hunder felt not that reverence which the Arian Goth felt for the Christian hes and their ministers. Things were xactly as they were when the heathen came, four hundred years later. Chrisv, and all that belonged to it, was a l object of hatred to conquerors who nlearned nothing of heathenism and Our one nearly contemen ferocity. r picture sets before us the overthrow irches, the slaughter of clergy, as one special horrors of the conquest. thers had none of the reverence of a or a Burgundian for the laws and i of Rome; they had no sympathy with unicipal organization which Rome had l over her provinces. They cared nothr a speech which they did not underand for laws which to them were To them a city was simp' ngless. on: freedom in their eyes was I the boundary of a stone wall

All went down; art, religion, law, all p ished; a Roman town with its walls a towers was, in the first stage of conquest, 1 a coveted possession, but an obstacle wh blocked the path of invasion, which need more time and labor to overcome than t land around it, and which, when it at l was won, was left, forsaken and dismantl as a witness of the utter havoc which o fathers knew how to work. I have ask you to stand with me on the steen of Mans; I will ask you to stand with me At Pevthe shingly shore of Pevensey. sey, no less than at Le Mans, we see befus the works of many ages, from the da of Roman dominion to our own time. in how different a state are they set bef At Le Mans we have a continuous cupation, a continuous history. The Gaul hill-fort has grown, step by step, into



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mighty haven, a seat of dominion which gave its name to the surrounding land. In many parts of their circuit those walls stand wellnigh as perfect as when the Roman engineer looked with joy on the newly-finished bul-But they stand empty and desolate: and they stood as empty and desolate as they are now when the ships of the Norman invader put to shore beneath the walls of the forsaken city. The Roman walls of Anderida are more perfect than the Roman walls of Le Mans, but they do not surround, like those of Le Mans, the oldest portions of a city which has far outstripped their limits. Within their circuit there is not a single dwelling of man; there was not a single dwelling of man there when William land-The Briton and the Roman have vanished; they have left behind them only those gigantic works which defied any power of destruction at the command of our fathers. But east and west of those forsaken ruins stand English villages, with purely English names, each with its church, ancient as we deem antiquity, but which seems a work of vesterday in the presence of the relics of the older time. History tells us that when William landed one of those villages was a thriving borough, a flourishing haven, which, like so many other havens of the Kentish and South-Saxon shore, has been ruined by the physical changes of the coast. At Pevensey, as at Romney and Winchelsea, the sea has fallen back, and has left what once were busy merchant towns stranded like the fragments which the ebbing tide leaves upon the sand. Thus, while at Le Mans the Roman city lived on, at Anderida it utterly perished. We know the history of its fall. Second among the recorded English settlements, next after the Jutish conquest of Kent, came that Saxon settlement which grew into the Kingdom of Sussex. and Cissa landed in the harbor of Chichester, a city which drew its English name from Cissa himself. The open country no doubt was easily won. But for fourteen years the bulwarks of Anderida were proof against all attack. Most likely no attack was attempted till the whole land around was conquered and the city stood isolated and helpless. The siege was long; the defence was valiant. The besiegers were annoved by constant sallies, and it would seem that helpers from other parts of the island came to defend their last outpost in Southeastern Britain. As the English attacked their walls, they were not only beaten back

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by the defenders of the walls, but were at-

tacked in the rear by countless bands of archers, to which the great neighboring forest, the great Andredesweald, afforded shelter whenever the besiegers turned upon The English had at last to divide their forces: one division kept up the ceaseless blockade of the wall, while the other warred against the Welsh who came to help their beleaguered countrymen. At last hunger did its work; resistance could no longer be kept up; the gates were stormed or opened; and not a soul of the defenders, man, woman, or child, escaped the swords of the English. Not a Briton was left alive in the city, and no English settlement took their place within the prison of the Roman walls. It was only in later times, when the work of conquest was now over, when the new lords of the soil had begun to turn their thoughts to other objects than rapine and slaughter, that the English borough of Pevensey, the English village of West-Ham, arose, not within the ancient circuit, although in its near neighborhood. It was only in later times still, when the brother of the Norman Conqueror had become lord of the English town, that a small portion of the Roman site was once more occupied,

and a feudal castle arose within one corn of the Roman city. That feudal castle now as utterly forsaken, and far more utte ly shattered and broken down, than the R man walls themselves. Fit emblems the of our national history. The Roman as the Norman have vanished, but the Englis man still abides. The English village, tl English church, are there, still living, whi the works of earlier and later conquero stand as mere relics of past time. The bloo the laws, the speech, which Ælle and Cis first planted on the South-Saxon shore, a still the blood, the laws, and the speech of Englishmen. And nowhere are they mo at home than in the shire which behe English freedom sink for a moment in the twilight of Senlac, and rise again to mo abiding life in the full brightness of tl summer day of Lewes.

heathen worship, was strictly a war of extermination, so far as there can be such a thing as a war of extermination at all. do not mean that every Briton was actually swept from the face of the earth by the English of those times, as the English of owtimes have swept away the natives of Tasmania, or as they may one day sweep away the natives of New Zealand. One thing is certain, that fourteen hundred years have not taken away or lessened either our wil

not taken away or lessened either our wil or our capacity for destruction. There is however, one difference between the two cases. The Britons, aliens in blood, lan guage, and religion, were at least men of our own color. The two races, therefore could mingle, and they could mingle with out leaving any sensible trace of the mixt And to some extent, no doubt, they did mingle. The pedigree of no nation is absolutely pure. The women, it is obvious would often be spared, and Celtic mother might hand on some drops of Celtic blood to English sons. So too some of the con quered would doubtless be allowed to live

might hand on some drops of Celtic bloc to English sons. So too some of the cor quered would doubtless be allowed to liv as slaves of their conquerors. This sort of thing happenes in every conquest; it makes happened when the Welsh settle Britain, just as much as when the Er

did. But does this sort of chance intermingling binder us from being at least as near an approach to pure-blooded Teutons as the Welsh are to pure-blooded Celts? Does it show that the English settlement in Britain was a settlement which made no greater change than the Frankish settlement in Gaul? I trow not. The results down to our own day witness to the fact of the difference; all that we know of the history explains the circumstances of the difference. I believe that, speaking in the rough way which is the only way in which we can speak of such matters, the Welsh vanished from the land and the English took their places. Some of my special reasons for thinking so will come most fittingly in the last stage of my argument, the stage of answering objections. But it is easy to see that the way in which the land was won, bit by bit, by hard fighting, the invaders being victorious in one battle and beaten back in the next, would give the war the full character of a war of extermination. Many would fall in battle, in battles where we may be sure that no quarter was given, and those who escaped the sword would have unusual means of flight into the wide regions of unconquered country which lay

that I confine this description to the days of heathendom and to those parts of England which were won during the days of heathendom. I simply make the distinction now; its full meaning I shall explain more at large in one of my answers to objections in my last lecture.

After all, there is no point in which the English conquest of Britain stands more completely by itself than in its religious aspect. What made it so specially fearful in the eyes of the conquered was that it was a heathen conquest. No Anglian or Saxon invader dreamed of bowing himself to the faith of the conquered; no Remigius stood ready to lead Hengest or Cerdic to the waters of regeneration. Our forefathers were con-

its origin or its doctrines, concern us, as Er lishmen, as little as speculations about t Churches of Armenia or Æthiopia. It w not from the Briton that our enlightenme came. The Briton never strove-under circumstances it was not likely that should strive-to offer the message of salv tion to his destroyer. I do not forget, les of all in this portion of the kingdom, he great a debt Northern and Central Engla owe to the teaching of the independe But the independent Scots are I the conquered Welsh, and it does not appe that any English soul was won even by Scottish missionary till the work of conv sion had been begun by men who brong the word of life from the common centre of ligion, government, and civilization. The is no other nation in Europe which has h so little to look to Rome as a political m tress; there is no nation in Europe whi has had so truly to look to Rome as an clesiastical mother. Rome converted Eu land; England converted such of our Te tonic brethren as still remained strangers the fold of Christ. Here, even more than anything else, we see the gap which set rates Tentonic England from Celtic and I man Britain. Elsewhere Christianity a

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its hierarchy are continuous. Since the earliest days of the Christian Church, the an-

cient cities of Italy, Spain, and Gaul have never failed in the unbroken succession of their bishops. Save where modern legislation has wrought a change, their sees still remain where they were fixed in the days of Constantine; the limits of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction still represent the Roman civil divisions of the fourth century. In England there is not a bishopric which can trace its succession farther backward than the last days of the sixth century. Here in this Northern Province we cannot doubt that Eboracum, so often the capital of the Casars, had its prelates in Roman times. no less than any metropolis in Gaul or Spain. But while the ecclesiastical history of Ronen and Toledo loses itself in the legends of the first days of persecution, the existing Church of York can claim no earlier founder than the Bretwalda Eadwine; its line of prelates goes no farther back than Paullinus, the missionary from Kent and Rome. As in everything else, so in religion, we are cut off by an impassable gulf from the days before the English conquest; for, in adopting the same faith as the conquered, we adopted it at s

a time, in such a manner, and in such a f

as to ent us off from all communion with them. We were a new people in a new land, a laud which men had begun to look upon as another world, a world whose conversion was the noblest spiritual conquest of which the spiritual centre of the elder world could boast.

Such, then, was our settlement in Britain: such are the points of contrast between that settlement and the Teutonic settlements which took place in the continental provinces of Rome. Elsewhere the conquerors and the conquered mingled; the fabric of Roman society was not wholly overthrown; the laws, the speech, the religion of the elder time went on, modified doubtless, but never ntterly destroyed. The conqueror became in all these points the pupil of his subjects. In Britain a great gulf divides us from everything before our own coming. We kept our own laws, our own tongue, our own heathen creed, and, so far as they have been thrown aside or modified, it has not been through mingling with the conquered, but through later and independent influences. We changed our faith, but not at the hands of the Briton: the Roman sowed the seed of truth and the Scot watered it. Our laws and language have in later times been greatly modified; but they were modified, not at the hands of the conquered Britons, but at the hands of the conquering Normans. Elsewhere the conqueror was gradually absorbed in the mass of the conquered; here, if any of the conquered survived, they were absorbed in the mass of the conquerors. Elsewhere, in a word, the old heritage, the old traditions, of Rome still survive; here they are things of the dead past, objects only of antiquarian curiosity. Of all that is most truly living among us, all that most truly forms our national being, we brought in the rude germ from our old home beyond the sea, and it has grown up to an independent life in our new home in the conquered island. As it is by the walls of Anderida, so it is throughout the land. The Briton has vanished utterly; the Roman and the Norman have left their ruins; but the Englishman still abides. He has passed from the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe to the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber. And thence he has passed to wider lands in other hemispheres, and has carried the old Teutonic speech, the old Teutonic freedom, to the mighty continent beyond the ocean and to the far islands beneath the Southern Cross.

III.

In my two former lectures I have striven to set before you the plain facts of the origin and early history of the English nation. We are a Low-Dutch people, who left our old home in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, and found ourselves a new home by conquest in the Isle of Britain. island, lately a Roman province, had been a short time before left to itself, and was in a state of utter anarchy and disorganization. Its invaders were invaders of a different kind from the other Teutonic settlers in the While the conquerors of the continental provinces had all been brought more or less under Roman and Christian influences, the Angles and Saxons still remained in their old barbarism and their old heathen-On the other hand, the withdrawal of the Roman power from Britain had of itself awakened strictly national feelings, and a spirit of national resistance, such as did not exist elsewhere. From these two differences, above all others, arose a wide difference between the Teutonic conquest of Britain and the Teutonic conquests on the Continent. On the Continent the settlement was speedy: it met with little resistance, with no strictly national resistance; it involved comparatively little change beyond the transfer of political power; the conquered were neither slain, driven out, nor enslaved; they retained their laws and a fixed share of their possessions: the con-

enslaved; they retained their laws and a fixed share of their possessions; the conquerors gradually adopted the language and the religion of the conquered, and in the course of centuries they were absorbed into their greater mass. In Britain, on the other hand, the conquest was an affair of centuries; the invaders everywhere met with a resolute national resistance; the land was won bit by bit by hard fighting, and the periods of success on the part of the conourrors alternated with times of reverse. during which the work of conquest stood In the end the laws, the arts, the language, the creed, of the conquered people were swept away; the conquerors retained their own laws and language, and though they at last embraced the same religion as the conquered, yet it was not from the conquered that they embraced it. They

embraced it, moreover, in a form so far di

ing from the religion of the conquered as to awaken sectarian disputes from the very beginning. These are the simple facts of history-facts which no one who has ordinary historical knowledge and insight will dispute. The question is only as to the inference to be drawn from the facts. Am I or am I not justified in inferring from those facts that the English of the nineteenth century are essentially the descendants of the Euglish of the fifth and sixth centuriesthat the population which they found in the land which they conquered was for the most part killed or driven out-that such remnants of them as survived, and such other strangers as have since made either warlike or peaceful settlements among us, have been simply absorbed into the greater English Am I or am I not justified in inferring that, though our blood is not absolutely unmixed, yet it is not more mixed than the blood of other nations; that the Englishman of the nineteenth century as truly represents, and is as probably descended from, the Englishman of the sixth century, as the Briton, the Dane, or the High-German of the nineteenth century represents and is descended from the Briton, the Dane, or the High-German of the sixth?

Aing or the Dayres and and nation formed by a union of Augles a Rex Anglo-Saxonum is simply short way of saying Rex Anglorum et Sa num. And King of the Angles and Saxo is of course a fuller and more correct ti than King of the Angles or English alo But, as a matter of fact, after the T tonic states in Britain had been fused in one kingdom, though "Anglo-Saxons" v doubtless the more correct and solemn scription, "Angli," "English," was the commonly used, while "Saxon" was ne used as the name of the united nation.] remember that Anglo-Saxon does not m Saxons in England as distinguished from S ons somewhere else; it does not mean r ple who lived before 1066 as distinguis

from people who lived afterward. It is s ply a shorter way of saying "Angles " and a charter way still is say

them; I know exactly what they wish to say. They wish to say that they do not maintain any such monstrous doctrine as that Englishmen are not Englishmen, but something else: what they maintain is that Englishmen are not wholly or chiefly Anglo-Saxons. I think I have now at least put it pretty fairly. But I thought it right to put it the other way too, because I really believe that most of the controversy and confusion on the subject is owing to nothing in the world but mere confusion and carelessness as to nomenclature. You will say that nomenclature is my hobby; and so it is. But it has become my hobby because long study and experience has shown me its paramount importance; because I know that ideas and the names of those ideas always influence one another, and that clear ideas and a confused nomenclature never can exist togeth-I would ask objectors what they mean by Anglo-Saxons. I know what I mean by Anglo-Saxon is a word which I very seldom use, because it is of all words the most likely to be misunderstood; but it is in itself a perfectly good word, and has a perfectly good meaning. It is often used in the charters, the public documents, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but it is not

It is consistent with believing that the people whom the Normans found here were of the purest Teutonic blood and spoke the purest Teutonic language. The other proposition is that the people whom the Normans found in England were not a Teutonic, but mainly a Celtic people—a Celtic people, of course, who had learned to speak Teutonic. Now this objection has nothing to do with anything which happened after the Norman conquest. It is consistent with believing in the most perfect identity in blood and speech and everything else between the Englishman of the nineteenth century and the Englishman of the eleventh. Only it affirms that neither the one nor the other has any right to be called Teutonic. Now you will see that these two propositions have absolutely nothing to do with one another. You may believe or disbelieve either. or neither, or both, without the one having the slightest influence on the other. can see that the two are often unconsciously mixed up together in the minds of those who will not accept the identity of the English of the nineteenth century with the English in the fifth. Of both these doctrines I must say a little, but I need not say nearly so much about the first as about the second.

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The first is in some sort a questio it is hardly a question of facts, ex as words themselves are facts. Om as I have already said, has greatly in the space of eight hundred year. changed so much that the English hundred years back is at first sight ing unintelligible. In this, however, remind you that English in no way from other languages; the language in any other part of Europe eight hu years back is at first sight or hearing telligible to those who know only its ern form. If any one chooses to call t difference of language, it is simply a q tion of words. the later form English and the older for Anglo-Saxon, he is using what I think is very confused and misleading nomenclatu but he is not necessarily saying anythin which is incorrect in point of fact. The ol Jection to this way of speaking is main! his_it leads men to confound one sort of hange with quite another sort of change. we allow ourselves to talk of English and Iglo-Saxon as two different languages, we all be almost sure to confound their relaus to one another with quite a different One often sees such erpressions as that a modern English word i derived from the Anglo-Saxon, while anoth er modern English word is derived from th Latin or some other foreign language. Th word derived is here used in two quite differ ent senses. A Romance word in modern use the word derived itself or any other, may b strictly said to be derived from the Latin That is to say, it was not our own word it was borrowed, it was adopted, from som other language; there was a time when i was not in use, and when it would have bee looked upon as a purely foreign word. Ther must have been, if we could only find hir out, some one man who brought it in as novelty, and some particular day when h used it for the first time. But the old word which have always been in use, the word which English has in common with the oth er Teutonic languages, house and child an man and father and mother, and so forth, car not be said to be derived from anything. have always been in use; the utmost change that has happened to them is some sma change in spelling or perhaps in sound. Th modern forms cannot be said to be derive

from the older forms, any more than a ma can be said to be derived from himself wh he was some years younger. So, again, I h

seen such phrases as "the Anglo-Saxon language giving way to the English, or being exchanged for the English." Now these expressions are perfectly correct when they are applied to cases in which one language really displaces another. Thus English has displaced Welsh as the language of Cornwall; that is to say, people left off speaking Welsh and took to speaking English, there being of course an intermediate stage when most people spoke both languages. The English language, as a ready-made whole, displaced the Welsh language as another whole. But there was no time when men in England left off talking one language called Anglo-Saxon and took to talking another language called English. There was no time when one man could have said to another, "I speak English and you speak Anglo-Saxon." But there was a time when one man in Cornwall could have said to another, "I speak English and you speak Welsh." The difference between Anglo-Saxon, or Old-English, or whatever we call it, and the English which we speak now, is not a difference between one language and another, any more than the difference between a man when he is young and the same man when he is old is the difference between one man and another. The

change has been very great, but it has not been the displacement of one language by another, but a change within the language itself. It is, therefore, better and clearer to speak of it as one language throughout, and to call it throughout by that one name by which it has always been called by those

who spoke it.

Still, a man may choose to say that the changes which have happened in the English language during the last eight hundred years, the loss of inflections and the infusion of Romance words into the vocabulary, have gone so far that he thinks it best to speak of it as another language. He may even, though I cannot conceive any reason for doing so, think good to call the older speech Anglo-Saxon and the later speech English. If so, it is only his nomenclature that I quarrel with. He may himself be perfectly right in all his facts, though he uses a nomenclatare which is certain to lead other people wrong, The other objection, the objection that the English people, say in the ninth, tenth, or eleventh century, were not a Teutonic people, involves still graver errors. People who speak in this way are not merely calling right facts by wrong names; they are utterly wrong in the facts themselves.

I put it to the sense of those who heard my last lecture. Is it possible that the differences which I then pointed out between the English conquest of Britain and the other Teutonic conquests can be consistent with the belief that the English, whether of the ninth or of the nineteenth century, are simply Celts more or less Teutonized ? I appeal to the evidence of your own tongues and your own ears. Do you speak Welsh? do you speak Latin? I trow not; whatever tongues we may have learned since, we learned English, and nothing else, from our moth-There is the great fact of ers and nurses. fourteen hundred years; a very simple fact, but a very great one. We do not speak Welsh or Latin, but we do speak English. And those who carry opposition to my views to the farthest point will not deny that English is even now more Teutonic than anything else; they will not deny that a thousand years back it was almost wholly Teu-Now the presumption is that a people using a Teutonic speech are a Teutonic Do not misunderstand me: I do not say that the fact that a people uses a Teutonic speech is a proof that they are a Teutonic people; I only say that it is a presumption that they are so. I mean that we may

assume them to be Teutonic, unless somebody can show that they are not. I am not bound to prove that the English, say of the ninth century, were a Teutonic people, any more than I am bound to prove that the Welsh of the same age were a Celtic people. I accept both facts on the strength of the presumption of language till somebody proves that they were something else. man says that the English of the ninth century were not Teutonic, he must be ready to show what they were, and how it came to pass that they exchanged their own language, whatever it was, for a Teutonic language. The answer is of course ready. "Oh. the Britons, when conquered by the Angles and Saxons, adopted their language, as many other nations have adopted the languages of other nations." I ask for proof: I ask for a parallel. It is true that nations have often adopted the languages of other na-They have sometimes adopted the tions. language of those whom they have conquered: they have sometimes adopted the language of those who have conquered them. But this has always been under circumstances widely different from anything which can be conceived as happening at the English conquest of Britain. Take, for instance,

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the language of Rome herself. Latin became throughout the whole Roman Empire the speech of government, law, and military discipline. And in a large part of the empire it became also the speech of common It became the speech of common life wherever the Roman conqueror came also as a teacher and a civilizer, wherever the sway of Rome was not a mere sway of superior power, but a sway which carried with it a marked improvement upon the earlier state of things. The living tongues of Gaul, Spain, and Dacia show how complete was the conquest made by the Latin speech wherever it had to struggle only against languages less formed and cultivated than itself. But wherever the Greek tongue had taken hold, whether through original Hellenic descent, through Greek colonization, or through Macedonian conquest, there Latin strove in vain against the speech which set the model to its own literature. only did Greek hold its own in all the Hellenic and Hellenized provinces; it went far to displace Latin as the tongue of polite intercourse among Latin-speaking people Roman emperors wrote their themselves. philosophical works in the tongue of their Greek subjects: no Greek philosopher ever

stooped to write his works in the tongue of his Roman master. Greek, Latin, Arabic, have displaced a vast number of earlier tongues in Europe, Asia, and Africa. They displaced the earlier tongues wherever the Greek, Roman, or Saracenic conqueror was decidedly the superior in arts as well as arms of the nations which he overcame. But the ancient tongues of Syria and Egypt have lived through all three conquests. now the speech only of a small remnant, because only a small remnant of the nation survives; but so far as the nation exists, its speech has not been displaced. So the Teutonic conquests of Gaul, Spain, and Italy failed to displace Latin; the Turkish conquest of South-eastern Europe has failed to displace Greek, Slavonic, Albanian, and the Latin of Dacia; the might of Russia has striven in vain to get rid of Polish, German, and Swedish in her conquered territories. But, on the other hand, German, High and Low, has displaced Slavonic as the speech of large populations on the eastern frontier of Germany, because the German came among the Slaves, not only as a conqueror, but as the teacher of a higher civilization and a purer religion, as the missionary alike of Rome's Cæsar and of Rome's pontiff.

the tongues of the various colonizing nations of Europe, English and Spanish above all, have displaced the original tongues of countless barbarous nations in their several colonial empires. The law seems to be a universal one. In a case of mere conquest. mere settlement, where the conquered are simply politically subdued and are not further disturbed, the speech of the higher civilization, whether that of the conquerors or of the conquered, is sure to triumph. Where there is no very marked difference in point of civilization, the language of the conquered, as the language of the greater number, will probably triumph. Take, for instance. our own conquest by the Normans. was no overwhelming superiority on either side; Norman and Englishman had each something to learn of the other; the final result was that the greater English mass absorbed the smaller Norman mass, and that the Euglish tongue, though a good deal modified by the struggle, did in the end win back its old place from the French. stance can be shown in which a small body of conquerors, settling among a people more civilized than themselves, communicated their own language to them. If the English people were mainly of Celtic descentif the Angles and Saxons had been simply a small body, settling among the conquered, and at most forming an aristocracy among them-had the English conquest, in short, been only such a conquest as the Frankish conquest of Gaul or the Norman conquest of England-we may set it down as absolutely certain that the speech of the conquered would have triumphed in the end, and that we should now be speaking, not a Teutonic, but a Romance, or, far more probably, a Celtic language. Under the circumstances of the English conquest, the displacement of language, beyond all doubt, implies the displacement of those who spoke it; that is to say, the English conquest, during its heathen stage, was a conquest of extermination, so far as that name can be applied to any conquest at all.

applied to any conquest at all.

Ingenious men go on further to tell us that, after all, purely Teutonic as the oldest form of English seems to be, there is a large Celtic and Latin element mingled with it. Again I repeat, no language ever kept its vocabulary perfectly pure. If the English, settling themselves in a country where Celtic and Latin had been spoken, had not adopted a single Celtic or Latin word, that assuredly would have been the marvel, and

not the other way. There is not a single European colony, not even those who have been most diligent in extirpating the native inhabitants, who have not picked up a word or two from them before their destruction was quite finished. From India and China, where we appear as conquerors and traders, not as mere destroyers, we pick up more words. A few Celtic words made their way into Latin; a few Latin words made their way into Greek. When two nations come into contact, whether as friends or as enemies, each will always borrow a few words from the other. The words adopted will be words expressing something specially belonging to the people from whom they are borrowed. Words like tea, shawl, and sash, which seem familiar enough now, are neither Teutonic, Celtic, nor Latin, but come from the tongues of the different Eastern nations from which we first got the things. So the word basket, there can be no manner of doubt, is a Celtic word, and it has found its way from the Celtic both into Latin and into English. I am not master of the autiquities of basket-making, but I conceive that there must have been some special merit about the Celtic baskets which commended them, name and thing, to the adoption

of two distinct sets of conquerors. integrity of a language, Latin, English, or any other, is not touched by taking in a few strav guests of this kind. Let us see what the Celtic and Latin element in the earliest English really is. Let us look first at the local nomenclature. We have been triumphantly asked whether, if the English people had been purely Teutonic, Celtic names like Kent, Bernicia, Deornarice or Deira, would have become the names of English king-I am standing here in Deira, and I do not think that I have around me an assembly of Welshmen. It is possible there may be among my hearers some citizen of Massachusetts or Connecticut. Does he look on himself as a Red Indian? Yet if the fact that a few Old-English kingdoms retained native names proves that they retained a native population, exactly the same argument will apply to the New-English States which in the like sort have retained native names. And we may mark that in neither case can the retention of native names be called the rule. Among the Old-English kingdoms and principalities, as among the thirteen original States of the American Union, the native names are quite the exception. Names of natural objects also often retain their names; it is in the nature of things that they should. There could have been no conceivable motive for giving new names either to the Thames and the Severn or to the Mississippi and the Susquehanna. Great cities, again, also often kept their names in a more or less modified shape. And along with the proper names, a few other words also crept in. A few Latin words crept in from the beginning. The most remarkable historically are street and chester. A street is strictly a paved way, the strata via of the Romans, and the name was applied to the great Roman roads, the Watling Street and the rest. We may be sure that our fathers had seen no such roads in their own land, and they naturally called the new thing by its native name, just as we now call anything new to us in India or any other country by its native name. So with chester, the older form being ceaster, from castrum. Roman city had sprung out of the Roman camp, and camp and city were alike new things to men who looked on stone walls as a prison. The purely Roman object kept its purely Roman name; men spoke of a ceaster then, just as in New Zealand now they speak of a pah. How strange the notion of a fortified city was is shown by the way in

which the word ceaster was added to the old names of places; Gloucester, Manchester. Doncaster, and a crowd of other places are called from the old Roman or British name with ceaster added to it. Sometimes an English word is added, as London is sometimes called Lundenwic and Lundenbyrig; but I know of no case where ceaster is added to a name of English origin. The lists of Latin words in Old-English which are given in books written on the other side commonly carry their own confutation with them. Some of them are absolutely off the point, not being words derived from Latin at all, but simply Arvan words which have been preserved both in Latin and in English. Some are ecclesiastical words. Is it very wonderful that words like Angel, Bishop, Mass, and the like-words expressing ideas for which our forefathers could not have had names while they were heathens—crept from Latin into English, as most of them had already crept from Greek into Latin? wonder is that our forefathers translated so many ecclesiastical words as they did. still call the Paschal feast by the heathen name of Easter; and the Lord's-day, the dies dominica, the dimanche, is still with us a heathen Sunday. We now talk of baptize and baptism: but, as our High-Dutch kinsfolk still say taufen, to dip, our forefathers spoke of fullian and fulluht-lost words, but of which we still keep a cognate in the name of the fuller's trade, the trade of washing and cleansing. So in the old translation of the Gospel, the name Jesus, the Saviour, appears always as the Halend, the healer. The other words-words which seem to have been largely gleaned from glossaries, and most of which do not meet us every day in our Chronicles—are almost wholly names of objects, fruits, utensils, weights and measures, the things which one language is always borrowing from another. Is it wonderful that we borrowed names like cherry and chest, in chestnut, from the Latin, when the Latin names themselves are not originally Latin at all, but are Greek names formed from the places in Greece and Asia from which the Romans got those fruits first of all? Men then spoke of pears and cherries and chestnuts, just as we now speak of guava and mangoes, and dozens of other names of the kind. It is still to be shown that any of the words which form the real essence of our ancient speech came from a Latin source.

The truth is that the words of this kind which thus naturally crept into our tongue

are the exceptions which prove the rule. Our fathers picked up new words to express new ideas just as we do now, but such new words do not in either case affect the essence. of the language, and do not prove any large intermixture of blood. If there was any such large intermixture of blood, if the English were not Tentonic but Tentonized Celts. a Celtic people with at most a Tentonic aristocracy, how is the displacement of language to be accounted for? how is the utter gap to be accounted for, which, as I showed in my last lecture, divides the period before the English conquest from the period after it? How is it that, with one important exception that I shall presently speak of we have so few references to the existence of any British population within the English borders, and that when we do find such references, they are always spoken of as a distinct people, not as forming the mass of the English population? What became of the speech, the laws, and the religion of the Ro-If the English conquest man provinces? of Britain had been no more than one of the contemporary continental conquests or than the Norman conquest of England, they would doubtless have survived. And ingenious men have tried to show that they did sur-

vive. Here comes the difficulty of popular lectures of this kind. When an objection takes the form of a long series of minute assertions, which can be refuted only by a series of equally minute answers, it is impossible to deal adequately with the matter before a large audience, and yet, if one leaves it alone, one seems to be shirking difficulties. I can only say that I cannot see any sign of Roman influence in our early institutions, I see striking analogies - I have myself, in my published works, pointed out some of them-between old Teutonic institutions and the institutions of other Arvan nations. Italian, Greek, and others. But of any direct influence of the Roman Law I can see no I cannot see a single office, a single name, a single legal process, a single constitutional principle, which can be really proved to have been handed on from the Roman or the Briton to his Teutonic conqueror. plenty of such on the Continent; I can see none in Britain. We are told, for instance, that our municipal institutions are of Roman origin. I ask for the proof, and I cannot get it. At most I get analogies, and not very strong analogies. Let us again compare the island and the continent. When I look on the Capitol of Toulouse, when I find the old title of 10

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the magistracy of the city to have been the "Octoviri Capitolini;" when I go to Alby and find inscriptions recording the acts of her consuls down to the great French Revolution, I feel that I am truly on Roman ground, that I am in a city where Roman traditions had never died out. But no such feeling is awakened by such purely Teutonic officers as the Portreeves,1 the aldermen, the lawmen, of London, York, and Lincoln. The mayor, I need not say, is, by that title, a French importation; so is the bailiff. There was a mayor too at Alby; and in the very inscriptions which I am thinking of, the French mayor is coupled with the Roman consuls exactly as the mayor of any English town is coupled with the Teutonic aldermen. title of alderman, the oldest, and once the highest, title in the English tongue, is a happy instance of true analogy, which may possibly have been turned into false derivation. In an early state of society, age implies rule, and rule implies age. Words, therefore, which at first simply meant old men have come in

¹ In the word *Portreeve* (Portgerefa) the first syllable is doubtless of Latin origin. *Port* is one of the same class of words as street and chester. But the compound *Portreeve* is purely English.

various languages to mean rulers and magistrates of different degrees. The Aldermen of England answer thoroughly to the Senators of Rome; they answer no less thoroughly to the Gerontes of Sparta. The analogy, as an analogy, is delightful, but it is only an analogy. A like state of things, among three kindred nations, produced a like result. But when we ask for direct evidence, there is just as much to show that our municipal institutions were derived from Sparta as there is to show that they were derived from Rome.

But it is certain that we have in our ancient writers notices which imply the existence of Britons within the English frontier long after the English conquest. Let us see what hints they give us as to the position of these Britons, and whether they at all fall in with the belief that Britons, with a certain Teutonic whitewash upon them, formed the mass of the English population. It is almost startling to find, in the local history of Ramsey, a perfectly incidental expression of one of the actors in the story, implying the possibility of an attack by British robbers in the days of Cnut. No one would have fancied that, in Huntingdonshire, in the eleventh century, there could have been any danger from robbers of that nation, at

all events. It is of course possible to argue that a mere incidental notice of this kind is not authority enough to make us believe so unlikely a fact; but it is just because the fact is so unlikely, because the notice is so incidental, that I am inclined to think that there must be something in it. Still, if we accept the story, let us accept it as proving what it does prove, and not as proving something else. Of all things in the world, that which it goes the least way toward proving is that the people of Huntingdonshire in the eleventh century were mainly of Celtic descent. It is strange to hear of British robbers in that country so many hundred years after the original conquest. But the fact, if it be a fact, that there were in Huntingdonshire men distinguished as Britons shows most distinctly that they were something distinct from the mass of the people of Huntingdonshire, and consequently that the mass of the people of Huntingdonshire were not Britons. It is certainly passing strange if a detached body of Welshmen could maintain themselves so long in a district so far away from any of their more settled breth-But among the fens and islands of that region, a region which gave shelter to the men who fled from the face of so many

successive oppressors, the thing is perhaps possible. I do not commit myself to the fact; but I do insist that, if it be a fact, it is a strong argument, not for, but against the belief that the English people in general are of Celtic descent.

I am not quite sure whether this particular story has ever been brought to prove that Englishmen are not Englishmen. But arguments quite as strange and quite as selfrefuting have been brought. For instance, an argument to show that the English people are mainly of Welsh descent has actually been sought in the fact that certain of the western shires, my own shire of the Sumorsætas among them, were known as the Wealheyn, the Welsh folk or land. I think it is a simple matter of commonsense, about which I may appeal to any man in this room, which way this fact looks. Surely the fact that certain shires were known distinctively as the Welsh country is one of the strongest possible arguments that the other shires were not a Welsh But this fact that the western country. shires were known as the Wealhcyn is a fact of great importance, and one which I have purposely kept back till this stage of my argument. You may remember that, when I spoke of the utter overthrow and havo made by our forefathers in their conquests I carefully confined what I had to say o that head to the days of heathen conquest There can be no doubt that the introduction of Christianity made a most important dis ference in this respect. By far the greate part of what became England had been con quered while the English were still hes thens. All the eastern and most part of th southern and midland districts of the coun try had been wrested from the Welsh befor the preaching of Augustine. The Teutoni frontier in Britain already reached north ward to the Forth and westward to th Severn. It is certain, however, that, ever within this limit, there were at the end of the sixth century large British district which were still unsubdued. In this north ern part of England, for instance, ther were, at the accession of Eadwine, indepen dent Britons at no great distance from Yor It was Eadwine who added to th itself. Northumbrian kingdom the hitherto Wels districts of Loidis and Elmet, the names o both of which still survive. Loidis sti lives in the familiar name of the town o

Leeds, and Elmet is still recognized than of a district in such additions

wick-in-Elmet, and the like. And one or two Welsh names of places survive in that part of Yorkshire-Aberford, for instance, one of those curious names in which one part of the word is English and another part Welsh. So, again, there can be little doubt that a large part of the western midland counties, above all, the wild Peakland of Derbyshire, was not conquered till after the coming of Augustine. Still, however, these last conquests belong to the period of heathen invasion; they were probably joined to Mercia by the fierce heathen conqueror Penda, and I do not think that we shall find that in any of the Mercian lands east of the Severn the Briton has left more traces behind him than he has in Kent or Norfolk. When we cross the Severn the case is dif-We then get into the real Welsh march. One of the greatest English conquests of the eighth century was that which changed the Welsh town of Pen-y-wern into the English Shrewsbury. Hereford was long an English outpost against the Welsh, and indeed in parts of Herefordshire the names of places are Welsh, and it is not so very long since the Welsh language died out there. The Severn, I think, must be taken as the extent of complete English conquest,

one periods of heathen a conquest. The shires which the Wealheyn, the Welsh cou south-western shires-Cornw Somerset. Of Cornwall I need Every one knows that it is British country, a country w nomenclature is mainly Celti-Celtic language was spoken much more than a hundred ye I do not think that people so : in that what happened in Corn same process which happened a speedily and more thoroughly. in most part of Somerset—tha ess of assimilation as disting that of extirpation. What against who--

Any one who knows the country, any or who, even at a distance, looks carefully at th map, will be able to make out a sprinkling of Celtic names and other Celtic indication beginning at the Axe, and getting thick and thicker till we cross the Tamar into t. strictly Celtic land of Cornwall. districts there can be no doubt that, just in Cornwall, the population is very large of Celtic descent, and has been simply a similated to the English. The cause of t difference is manifest. The Axe was t last boundary of heathen conquest; all the south-west of that river was gradual won by the Christian kings of the Wes Saxons. Mark here the effect of Chr. tiauity. It did its work, as it generally do its work, slowly and silently; it did not once turn men into angels; it did not ma all men at once as perfectly virtuous and perfectly consistent as the very best me now or then; but it certainly did make m much better than they were before. Chr tianity did not at once put a stop to figl ing and conquering; it has not put a st to fighting and conquering yet; but it co tainly made the processes of fighting a conquering much less frightful than the were before. With the introduction

Christianity our forefathers ceased to be mere destroyers; they were satisfied with being conquerors. Instead of dealing with the vanquished as with wild beasts, they were now content to receive them, not indeed as their political equals, but still as fellow-Christians and fellow-subjects. the districts which were conquered after the conversion of the English, the conquered Briton was freely admitted to the protection of the law, and he was not forbidden the possession of landed property. He was not. indeed, looked on as the equal of his conqueror. In those days each man had his value, according to his rank. Every man's oath was worth something, but the oath of one man of higher rank was reckoned as equal to the oaths of several men of lower rank. Every man's life was worth something: a fine was to be paid for the slaving of any man, but the fine for slaving a man of higher rank was higher than the fine for slaying a man of lower rank. The fine for slaying the King was very high indeed; for an Ealdorman less; and so on downward. Now, according to this rule, we find that the oath of the Welshman and the blood of the Welshman, though they were worth something, were not looked on as being worth so much as the oath and the blood of an Englishman. This at once marks his posi-He is no longer a slave, an enemy, or a wild beast, but a fellow-subject, though a fellow-subject of inferior rank. So, again, in this part of England we do actually find some traces of that ecclesiastical continuity with the Church of the conquered which is so conspicuous on the Continent, but of which we have no trace in any other part of England. Canterbury and York have no connection with the early British Church; but go to Glastonbury, and there what people simply dream of in other places becomes a real and living fact. Somersetshire between Axe and Parret was conquered by the Christian Cenwealh; Somersetshire bevond Parret was conquered by the famous law-giver Inc. Unlike their forefathers in their heathen days, but exactly like the Christian Teutons in their continental conquests, the West-Saxon conquerors now spared, honored, and enriched the great ecclesiastical establishment of the conquered. The ancient church of wood or wicker, which legend spoke of as the first temple reared on British soil to the honor of Christ, was preserved as a hallowed relic, even after a greater church of stone was built by Dun-

stan to the east of it. And though not a fragment of either of those buildings still remains, yet each alike is represented in the peculiar arrangements of that mighty and now fallen minster. The wooden church of the Briton is represented by the famous Lady chapel, better known as the chapel of Saint Joseph: the stone church of the West-Saxon is represented by the vast Abbey church itself. Nowhere else can we see the works of the conquerors and the works of the conquered thus standing, though but in a figure, side by side. Nowhere else, among all the churches of England, can we find one which can thus trace up its uninterrupted being to days before the Teuton had set foot upon British soil. The legendary burialplace of Arthur, the real burying-place of Eadgar and the two Eadmunds, stands alone among English minsters as the one link which really does bind us to the ancient Church of the Briton and the Roman.

Now what does all this prove? Here is one particular part of England known as the Wealkeyn. In that particular part of England we see that a large Welsh population did survive, and became the subject of special legislation. In that particular part of England we find, in one great ecclesias-

tical foundation at least, a real religious continuity between the Church of the conqueror and the Church of the conquered. But in all these respects the district so distinguished stands alone, and we can see plain reasons in the facts of history why it should stand alone. The very name of Wealhoun points to this district as having a special character, a character differing from, and opposed to, the other shires of the Angel-The legislation about Welshmen is peculiar to Wessex; we find no legislation about Welshmen in the laws of Kent or of other parts of England. And it is peculiar to Wessex at one particular age. The distinction which was so broadly marked in the laws of Ine seems to have died out before the time of Ælfred. Everything shows that the state of things in these western shires was exceptional, and that it was felt That they were known as the to be so. Welsh country is the strongest of all proofs that the rest of England was not a Welsh country. That in them there was a Welsh population, calling for special legislation, while no such legislation was needed elsewhere, is the strongest of all proofs that no such Welsh population existed in other parts of England. If I asserted that the blood of

eral.

Englishmen was purely Teutonic, as a matter of physical purity, it would certainly be answer enough to show that three shires of England largely retained their Welsh population. But as I do not affirm, and as nobody that I know affirms, any such impossible paradox, the distinctive and exceptional character of this particular district sets off by the clearest light of contrast the essentially Teutonic character of England in gen-

These districts of England, which are only Teutonized and not strictly Teutonic, where the Welsh population was not extirpated but gradually assimilated, find a striking parallel in a part of continental Europe of which I have already briefly spoken. mean those lands in the east of Germany where the Teutonic speech, High in some districts, Low in others, has been spread over a large range of country originally Slavonic and Lithuanian. The greater part of the older Kingdom of Prussia, as well as all the eastern part of the dominions of the Prussian Crown in Germany, together with much of the Austrian territory and of the modern Kingdom of Saxony, come under this head. Eastern Germany, like south-western England, is not a purely Teutonic, but only a Teutonized land. A very large part of the German population, including such exalted personages as the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg and the Prime-minister of Prussia, are Germans only in the sense in which a Cornish Tre, Pol, or Pen is an Englishman. the part of Germany whose inhabitants are mainly Teutonized Slaves forms a much larger portion of the whole country than the part of England whose inhabitants are main-If the Celtic element ly Teutonized Celts. in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset destroys the claim of Englishmen to be Teutons, the Slavonic element in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Lusatia, the Old-Prussian or Lithuanian element in Prussia itself, must go much farther to destroy the claims of Germans to be looked upon as As I said before, no nation is really of pure blood; all that I contend is that the blood of Englishmen is not more mingled than the blood of other nations. I have no doubt that the Slavonic element in the modern Germans is greater than the Celtic element in the modern English. if you told a German that he was not a Teuton, that is, if you told him that Dutch was not Dutch, he would be a little amazed. should be the last man to dispute his right greater detail. The lands like Mowhere German, High or Low, displaced Slavonic, answer to the on Wealkeyn, and to Herefordshi other lands on the Mercian boo English has wholly displaced Welwhere German and Slavonic are structured by Bohemia, for instance, and the Poince of Posen—answer to Wales it if we may take a wide leap over both and Magyar lands, we might sa English part of Pembrokeshire, L land beyond Wales, where the blooly Flemish, and the speech therefo

English, answers to the distant and Saxon colonies in Transylvania. I settlements have kept themselves

... conquered people so largel ived, the English conquest did answ 10 other Teutonic conquests. s the mere question of descent go learly does so answer. But a little tho ill show that all the circumstances of wo cases were different. We see the di ice in the results. In the continental. lests the conquerors were merged in nquered. Here in Britain, even where nquered exceptionally survived, they w rged in the conquerors. Where the Bi was spared, he did not change his co ror into a Welshman, but he himself ! ie an Englishman. The cause of the d nce is obvious. When the West-Saxc juered the south-western nor! n the Mercianand Burgundians had respected the system which they found established in the Roma: provinces. The feeling entertained by the English toward the Welsh must have bee mainly one of contempt. The English was the advancing, the Welsh was the decaying element. By this time there could have been advantage in civilization on the Wels side, or rather the advantage must hav passed over to the English side. When the

English became Christians, the single badg of superiority on the part of the Brito passed away. The English frontier thus a vanced, and the inhabitants of each of the districts which were successively annexe were received as subjects of an English kingdom. They had now to live under Englishaws, and they were placed under every inducement to learn the English languag. Thus between English settlers who presse

appearance, between the time of Ine and the time of Ælfred; but it is certain that the population of Exeter was partly English, partly Welsh, up to the time of Æthelstan, by whom the Welsh inhabitants were driven out. In Cornwall the process was much slower. The country retained a kind of half-independence much later, and the English settlers were probably much fewer than in Somerset and Devon. But in the end, though the local nomenclature and a strong local feeling still remains, the English tongue has made good its dominion even over that stubborn peninsula.

But we are told that, not only in these districts, but in the whole land generally, there must be much Celtic blood among us, because it is allowed at all hands that the women would often be spared, and that many even of the men would survive as slaves. So no doubt it was: there is doubtless some Celtic blood in us, as there is some alien blood in every other nation. As for the slaves, it is certain that the Welsh were enslaved to such a degree that the word Wealh is often used, especially in composition, to express a slave, and that the feminine Wylne is much more commonly used to express a female slave. This use of the word, let me

ign the num

the conquests of the Franchetered through all lands. Here, again, the ish element in England answers to the vonic element in Germany. Physical ity of blood cannot be claimed either for a continental or for the insular Teuton. It does the presence of an occasional Britherston either way? I trow not. When, after-times, a Norman adventurer married in Euglish heiress, I believe that his son,

it does the presence of an occasional Brita or Slavonic mother really affect the nestion either way? I trow not. When, a after-times, a Norman adventurer married in English heiress, I believe that his son, sorn on English soil of an English mother, and succeeding, without force or displacement, to the estate of an English grandfather, felt as an Englishman rather than as a Norman. But I do not believe that this or that Englishman of the fifth or sixth century was any the less an Englishman because his mother might happen to be a Welsh captive. She might teach him to talk about a basket, but she did not teach him to worship Christ instead of Woden. Turkish sultans and pashus have had their harems filled with women from all quarters of the world, but

their sons have not been any the less Turks. And, after all, there is every reason to believe that the infusion of Celtic blood through Celtic slaves or Celtic slave mothers was, even physically, not very great. It is significant that in Domesday the number of recorded slaves is large in the shires touching on the Welsh border, small in the purely Teutonic districts. And it is worth noticing that legend directly points to the fact that the invaders, to a great extent at least, brought their own women with them. There are endless legends in which a settlement begins by the stranger marrying the daughter of the native chief. In the legend of the English occupation of Britain the native chief marries the daughter of the strauger.

Lastly, there are some points alleged to which it is really hard to give any serious thought. To prove that the English are not Teutonic we are gravely told that the modern English differ greatly in their tastes and habits from the modern Germans. What then? The examples quoted seem to come from München and Wien rather than from Bremen and Lübeck; but if they came from Angeln itself, what can they prove after a separation of fourteen hundred years? Turn to foreign accounts of Englishmen two or

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

hundred years back. We see at once ness to ourselves in those great aspects itical life which are the true flesh and of Englishmen. But in the mere deof taste and fashion there is often no ess whatever. And those who seriousng this as an argument are sometimes a to acknowledge, with ludicrous simv, that those points of unlikeness be-Germans and Englishmen which are ly brought to show that Englishmen ot Englishmen are just as distinctive inchmen as they are of Germans. That say, the difference is simply the differbetween men of the continent and men Our insular position has us a character of our own which widestinguishes us from the French, and from the High-Germans, and it is not wonderful if it even distinguishes us our Low-Dutch brethren also. stly, we are told that we differ from termans, and I believe from the Hol-

stly, we are told that we differ from iermans, and I believe from the Holrs too, in certain physical peculiarities. are a light-haired race; we are more only dark-haired; and, above all, there is difference in the shape of our skulls, i involves a corresponding difference shape of our hats. The evidence from

the hats, however, does not seem to be fully agreed upon; different measurers of hats seem to give different reports on the abstruse question whether Englishmen, Germans, or any other people, are entitled to be called either Roundheads or long-headed fellows. But, seriously, what does such an argument as this prove? First of all, I object to any High-Dutchman's hat being received as evidence. I must be certified that the German hats spoken of are specially adapted to genuine Saxon or Frisian heads. Then, again, nothing can be plainer than that, among civilized nations at least, differences of this sort cannot be trusted as infal-I presume that any differences which may be found between Celt and Teuton must have been originally caused by the influences of climate and manner of life; for, whatever we say of negroes or Tasmanians, we must at least assume that all the Arvan nations are sprung from a single stock. If the physical peculiarities of the Celts of Britain were in any way owing to their dwelling in Britain, the same influence would doubtless have the same effect on the Teutonic settlers I am told that types of skull do alter; that, for instance, the most degraded classes of our own population, whether Celtic or turies.

As for the color of eyes and hair, I really cannot attach any importance to arguments drawn from features which are so liable to constant change. It is certain that the old Teutons are always described as a blue-eyed and light-haired race. It is equally certain that, among the modern English, eyes and hair of all colors are common, and that the darker kind would probably be found to have a numerical majority. But I do not see that any inference can be drawn from these facts to show that the English are not essentially Teutonic. At all events, these facts cannot prove that the English are essentially Celtic; for the Celts, no less that

the Teutons, are spoken of as a light-haire

or red-haired race. The different appearance of the Silurians, the people of South Wales, is specially noted by Roman writers, to whom it suggested the idea that they were an Iberian colony. And among the modern Welsh dark hair is certainly still more common than it is among the modern English. argument from hair, therefore, if it proves anything, would rather prove that Welsh and English alike are neither Celtic nor Teutonic, but Iberian. It would prove, in truth, that we are none of us Aryans at all, but that we are, after all, Basques who have somehow learned to talk Welsh in some parts and English in others.

On the other hand, though blue eyes and light hair are certainly commoner in Germany than in England, they are certainly not the universal rule. I have before now been in company where one dark-haired German was the exception among a party of light-haired English. On the other hand. our Norman kings were light-haired, just as much as their English predecessors; and it is plain that in old Greece light hair and blue eyes were, to say the least, not uncommon, though they certainly are not Greek characteristics now. As far as I can see, no argument in any direction can be drawn

from the color of the hair: no feature seems so liable to change among whole nations; none seems to be so much a matter of chance in particular families. Whatever may be the cause, whether from changes in the manner of life or from anything else, it seems that, not in England only, but in Europe generally, a tendency has been at work for some centuries, by virtue of which the fair-haired nations, Teutonic, Celtic, or any other, are gradually becoming dark.

I have now done. I have stated my own case: I have done my best to answer such objections as have been made to it. not think that we shall surrender a pedigree to which our language, our institutions, and our whole history bear witness, in deference to objections some of which prove nothing. while others are strong arguments the other. No: we are Englishmen, sprung of the old stock which changed Britain into England, as it has, before and since, planted other Englands elsewhere. We are a colony of the old England, the old Saxony, the old Friesland, the lands which never bowed to the rule of Cæsar, till a Cæsar came among them who was himself of Teutonic blood and speech. We are a colony planted at the most hopeful time for planting colonies.

while the parent land was still in a state of healthy barbarism. We brought with us no fixed and elaborate institutions; we were under no temptations consciously to copy the institutions either of our old land or of any other. But we brought with us the germs of all the institutions, the germ of the whole national life, which were to take root and grow in the new soil in which they were planted. We did not bring with us a finished constitution of King, Lords, and Commons; but we did bring with us those germs alike of the monarchic, of the aristocratic, and the democratic branches of our constitution, which stand out plainly revealed in the earliest pictures of the Tentonic race. Severed from the old stock, planted in a new soil, we grew up a new people, never losing our kindred with those whom we left behind, but still growing into a distinct national personality of our own. We mainly extirpated, to a slight degree we assimilated, the alien Briton: we wholly assimilated the kindred Dane and the really kindred Nor-We have our own history, our own But it is well that we should look glory. to the rock whence we are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence we are digged. No people are fonder than ourselves of wanderGermany we are simply revisiting cestral home.

THE END.

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